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# STUDIES IN MENANDER

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF  
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
(DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS)

BY  
F. WARREN WRIGHT

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## FOREWORD.

The recovery of a long-lost classic, like the rediscovery of a periodic comet, affords opportunity for the testing of old observations and the reëxamination of cherished theories. I have ventured to present these STUDIES IN MENANDER because of a belief that the comedies of this great and renowned ancient, so happily recovered, though in fragmentary form, have much of permanent interest to teach the student of classical philology.

Chapter I, pp. 1-55, on the *Oaths in Menander*, is offered principally as a contribution to the study of Greek religion. Chapters II, pp. 56-67, on *Mutes and Liquids*, III, pp. 68-84, on *Omission of the Article Metri Causa*, and IV, pp. 85-109, on *Asyndeton*, deal chiefly with matters of prosody, of syntax, and of poetic and dramatic style, both of Menander and his great rivals. In all these cases, the possession of new evidence is the sole justification for the re-opening of supposedly long-settled questions.

The fragments of the "old" Menander are cited in the numbering of Kock, CAF; those of the "new," in the abbreviations and numbering of Körte, *Menandrea*, Leipzig (1910). I have not hesitated, however, to follow other editors when convinced that the readings of Kock and Körte are wrong, endeavoring to indicate all such variations as affect the argument. I have sought to incorporate all important changes in the text, due to Jensen's collation of the Cairo MS., Rh. Mus. LXV (1910), 539-577, which reached me when this was in proof. In the citation of periodical literature, all modifications of the abbreviations adopted in the *Bibliotheca philologica classica* are in the interest of clearness.

Acknowledgment must be made to Otto Hense, to whose suggestions in critical reviews in the *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* are directly due two of these STUDIES, and to the late Prof. S. R. Winans of Princeton, who read this thesis in manuscript. But above all I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. Edward Capps of Princeton, at whose suggestion this work was undertaken, and to whose constant criticism while the work was in manuscript and in proof its completion is in no

small measure due. For his kindness in furnishing me my first adequate text in the form of advance pages of his *Four Plays of Menander*, Boston (1910), I am under especial obligation.

I desire to take this opportunity of extending to my several instructors in Wesleyan, Harvard, and Princeton Universities, a grateful student's thanks for inspiration and guidance in his classical studies.

F. WARREN WRIGHT.

Bryn Mawr College,  
March 1, 1911.

Copies of this dissertation may be obtained on application to the author. The price for each copy is one dollar, which includes postage.



## CHAPTER I.

### OATHS IN MENANDER.

The new fragments of Menander, together with those already known in the collections of Meineke and Kock, give us a considerable body of oaths drawn from the speech of the common people. The following chapter on the *Oaths in Menander* may serve, therefore, as a supplement to the excellent studies on the oaths of the Greeks which have already been made<sup>1</sup> in that portion of Greek literature which gives us the speech of private life, viz., comedy, dialogue, the mimes of Herondas, and, to a certain extent, oratory.

In dealing with Greek oaths, it is important to remember that the gods were very real beings to the Greeks, comparable to the saints of the Christian church among Catholic peoples. Whenever a Greek swore, he was calling upon some particular god who might be conceived as having some especial interest in his case. In time, of course, as with us, many of these oaths, especially those most frequently used, lost their significance as invocations of a helping or witnessing deity and became merely conventional exclamations. But apart from these few, every oath must have had its especial significance and especial appropriateness as used by each individual speaker on each individual occasion.

<sup>1</sup> Heumann, *De dignitate iurisiurandi apud veteres, praesertim apud Graecos*, ind. lect. Recklinghausen (1831-32); Lasaulx, *Der Eid bei den Griechen*, ind. lect. Würzburg (1844); Schröder, *De praecisis iurandi formis Graecorum et Romanorum*, Jahresb. vom kgl. Gym. zu Marienwerder (1845); Nägelsbach, *Die nachhomer. Theologie*, Nürnberg (1857), 241 ff.; Schröder, *De Graecorum iuramentis interiective positis*, Jahresb. vom kgl. Gym. zu Marienwerder (1859); Nägelsbach, *Homer. Theologie*<sup>2</sup>, Nürnberg (1861), 230 ff.; Bachmann, *Conjecturarum observationumque Arisophanearum specimen I*, diss. Göttingen (1878), 62 ff., 145 ff.; Bauck, *De proverbiiis aliisque locutionibus ex usu vitae communis petitis apud Aristophanem comicum*, diss. Königsberg (1880), 6f.; Kühnlein, *De vi et usu precandi et iurandi formularum apud decem oratores Atticos*, progr. v. Neustadt a. d. H. (1882); L. Schmidt, *Die Ethik der alten Griechen*, Berlin (1882), I 88 f., II 3 ff.; Hofmann, *De iurandi apud Athenienses formulis*, Strassb. diss., Darmstadt (1886, dated 1880); Martin, *Quomodo Graeci ac peculiariter Athenienses foedera publica iureiurando sanxerint*, Paris (1886); Rehdantz, *Index z. Demos. neun philippische Reden*<sup>1</sup>,

Unfortunately, our knowledge of Greek religion, especially of the actual belief of the common people, is still incomplete in many respects. It is not possible, therefore, to be certain in every instance as to what aspect of the deity was in the mind of the user of any particular oath. I have attempted, however, to suggest possible explanations of the oaths in Menander, wherever a study of the worship of the god invoked has furnished a clue to the intention of the person who called upon his name.<sup>2</sup> I am aware that certain of my explanations may appear trivial or over-elaborate, if considered by themselves. Perhaps in many cases the user of the oath himself could not have given a definite answer, if questioned, as to his reason for swearing by a particular god rather than by another. However, every oath must have had a certain foundation in current religious belief and a certain appropriateness in the given situation. I have therefore endeavored to ascertain as far as possible the underlying motives in the case of each oath.

Such matters as have been thoroughly treated by my predecessors and are now a part of common knowledge, as for example, the meaning of the particular formulae of swearing, it is unnecessary to discuss again, except where some discussion seems necessary for the elucidation of a particular passage in Menander. As to the formulae of swearing and the formulae of invocation, especially the vocative forms of the name of the god, with or without the particle  $\omega$ , it is difficult in every case to

Leipzig (1886), s.v. *Schwurformeln*, 132 f.; Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen u. Römer*, Leipzig (1890), 138 ff.; Meinhardt, *De forma et usu iuramentorum, quae inveniuntur in comic. Gr. et Platonis, Xenophontis, Luciani sermone*, diss. Jena (1892); Ziebarth, *De iureiurando in iure Graeco quaestiones*, diss. Göttingen (1892); Dunmler, *Delphika, Untersuchungen z. gr. Religionsgesch.*, progr. Basel (1894), 5-16; L. Ott, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des gr. Eides*, diss. Leipzig (1896); Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer* in Müller's Hdb. V. 3 (1898), 78 ff.; Wenger, *Der Eid in den gr. Papyrusurkunden*, Zeitschrift d. Savignystiftung d. Rechtsgesch. XXIII (1902), 158-274; Hirzel, *Der Eid, ein Beitrag zu seiner Geschichte*, Leipzig (1902); Schömann-Lipsius, *Gr. Altertümer*, Berlin, II<sup>4</sup> (1902), 274-284; Usener, *Die Dreiheit*, RhMus. LVIII (1903), 1-47, 161-208, 321-361, esp. 17-29; Ziebarth, s.v. *Eid* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyklopädie* V (1905) 2076 f.; Meier-Schömann-Lipsius, *Die attische Recht u. Rechtsverfahren* (1905-08), *passim*, esp. 151 ff.; Selvers, *De mediae comoediae sermone*, diss. Westphalia (1909), 60 ff. Setti, *Museo Italiano di antichita classica*, I 113-130, *Il linguaggio dell'uso comune presso Aristofane* (1884), has not been available to me.

<sup>2</sup> In the making of books on Greek religion there seems to be no end. The appended bibliography therefore might be indefinitely extended. Much of the ancient evidence for the major deities will be found conveniently arranged in Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*.



draw a distinction. I have preferred to err by including too much rather than by including too little. Curses, of which our poet furnishes some interesting examples, are not considered, though they are closely allied to oaths.

The method of presentation that I have adopted is as follows: First of all, the oaths are classified according to the god or gods invoked. Under each god are quoted the passages in which the oath occurs, with a brief statement of the class to which the speaker belongs, using the categories applied to the *dramatis personae* of Latin comedy, together with a mere hint as to context. After the instances there follows a discussion of the nature of the worship of the god concerned, especially at Athens, with a few supplementary statements of general interest concerning the usage of the particular oath, especially if a rare oath, in the larger body of Greek literature. Where such treatment is possible, each section concludes with a discussion of the individual passages in Menander. Following the oaths by the gods will be found a discussion of the oaths in which the name of the god is omitted; then a tabular view, with brief comments, of the different classes of oaths according to the categories of sex and rôle already mentioned; and, lastly, a brief comparison of the list of oaths in Menander, with those found in other writers.

## OATHS BY THE GODS COLLECTIVELY.

E. 179                                   ''Απολλον καὶ θεοί, δεινοῦ κακοῦ.

*Servus* Syriseus is indignant at Onesimus.

Pk. 448                                   ὦ Γῆ [καὶ θεοί<sup>1</sup>

*Adulescens* Moschion (cf. p. 24), in surprise.

893 K                                   ἀλλ' Ἡράκλειδες<sup>2</sup> καὶ θεοί.

Unknown speaker.

S. 220                                   οὐδεπώποτ' εἰς τοιαύτην ἐμπεσών, μὰ τοὺς θεούς,  
οἶδα ταραχήν.

*Senex* Demeas tells of his troubles.

<sup>1</sup> G.-H. ὦ γῆ [φιλότατη] Dziatz. is improbable, for it is properly the cry of a returning traveller; cf. 13. 1 K., 349. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 45.

- E. 458 ὑπομαίνειθ' οὗτος, νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, μαίνεται,  
μεμάνητ' ἀληθῶς, μαίνεται, νῆ τοὺς θεούς,

*Servus* Onesimus, of Charisius.

- S. 57 συνοῖδα γὰρ τῷ μαιρακίῳ, νῆ τοὺς θεούς,  
καὶ κοσμίῳ

*Senex* Demeas cannot believe his son Moschion guilty.

- S. 71 δοκεῖς γέ μοι, νῆ τοὺς θεο]ύς.

*Coquus* to Parmenon. (Sud. restoration, confirmed by Jensen.)

- 195 K. ἐγὼ μὲν ἤδη μοι δοκῶ, νῆ τοὺς θεούς,  
ἐν τοῖς κύκλοις ἐμαυτὸν ἐκδεδυκότα  
ὁρᾷν κύκλῳ τρέχοντα καὶ πωλούμενον.

"Verba sunt servi ob facinus nescio quod timentis ne in catesta venumdetur" (Mein.) "aut hominis liberi servitutis periculum metuentis." (Kock)

- Ph. 44 τὰληθῆ λέγω, νῆ τοὺς θεούς.

*Senex paedagogus* to young man.

- J. I. 49 ] νῆ τοὺς θεούς.

Speaker uncertain, to Laches.

- E. 183 τοῦ δεσπότου 'στί, νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ θεούς.

*Servus* Onesimus lays claim to his master's ring.  
And possibly

- E. 503 νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω [καὶ θεούς.<sup>3</sup>

Context and restoration most uncertain: speaker probably *servus* Onesimus (Capps, cf. p. 17, n. 3).

- 600 K. οὐχ ὁ τρόφιμός σου, πρὸς θεῶν, Ὁνήσιμε,  
ὁ νῦν ἔχων <τὴν> Ἀβρότονον τὴν ψάλτριν,  
ἔγην' ἔναγχος;

*Servus* to Onesimus (Capps).

- E. 15 μὴ καταφρονήσης, πρὸς θεῶν.<sup>4</sup>

*Servus* Syriacus, begging Smicrines to arbitrate.

<sup>3</sup> Crois., but cf. p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> πρὸς θεῶν Cairo; θεῶν Orion, *Anthologn.* 6. 4; τῶν θεῶν Schneidewin.

- Pk. 185                    ἀπονενόησθε· πρὸς θε[ῶν]<sup>5</sup>, ἐλευθέραν  
                               ἔχειν γυναῖκα πρὸς βίαν τοῦ κυρίου  
                               τολμᾶτε κατακλείσαντες;

*Servus* Sosias, protesting to slave Davus (or Θυρωρός Sud.).

- Pk. 267                    θεώρησον, Πάταικε, πρὸς θεῶν·  
                               μᾶλλον μ' ἐλεήσεις.

*Miles* Polemon begs Pataecus to bring about a reconciliation with Glycera.

- Pk. 401            Δ. ἄπεισιν ὡς σέ.    Π. πρὸς θεῶν, οἷον λέγεις;

*Miles* Polemon refuses to believe that Glycera will return to him.

- S. 88                    τὴν δὲ γραῦν φυλάττετε  
                               ἀπὸ τῶν κεραμίων, πρὸς θεῶν.

*Servus* Parmenon (Leo, Mazon) gives orders to Chrysis.

- S. 107                    Δ. ἱμάντα, παῖδες, τις δότω  
                               ἐπὶ τουτονί μοι τὸν ἀσεβῆ.    Π. μή, πρὸς θεῶν.

*Servus* Parmenon begs Demeas for mercy.

- Kn. 18                    ὥστε μηθείς, πρὸς θεῶν,  
                               πράττων κακῶς λίαν ἀθυμήσῃ ποτέ·

Speaker uncertain.

- 562 K.                    πῶς δὴ τὸ τραῦμα τοῦτ' ἔχεις;  
                               “μεσαγκύλῳ.” πῶς, πρὸς θεῶν; “ἐπὶ κλίμακα  
                               πρὸς τεῖχος ἀναβαίνων.”

*Parasitus* reports conversation with braggart soldier (Kock).

- H. 14                    μὴ καταρῶ, πρὸς <τῶν><sup>6</sup> θεῶν,  
                               *Servus* Davus, in love, begs his comrade Getas to pity him.

- E. 6                    πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,  
                               βέλτιστε, μικρὸν ἂν σχολάσαις ἡμῖν χρόνον;  
                               *Servus* Syricus respectfully asks for Smicrines' arbitration.

- E. 224                    πῶς ἂν οὔν, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,  
                               πῶς ἂν, ἰκετεύω—

*Servus* Onesimus, in perplexity, questions himself.

<sup>5</sup> Leeu., Sud., confirmed by Jensen.

<sup>6</sup> Hense, Leo; μὴ καταρῶ μοι Rich.





535. 5 K.                    ὁ μισεῖν οἷμ' ἅπαντας τοὺς θεοὺς,  
                                  γυναικάς ἐπλασεν, ὧ πολυτίμητοι θεοί,  
                                  ἔθνος μιᾶρόν.

Unknown man speaking.

- 109 K.                    [οὕτως] ἀγαθὸν τί μοι γένοιτο . . . .  
                                  . . . ὧ πολυτίμητοι<sup>10</sup> θεοί.  
                                  ὑποδοῦμενος τὸν ἱμάντα γὰρ τῆς δεξιᾶς  
                                  ἐμβάδος ἀπέρρηξ'.

Unknown man speaking.

- 429 K.                    πόθεν γάρ, ὧ φίλοι θεοί,  
                                  τούτους ἀνеспάκασιν οὔτοι τοὺς λόγους;

Speaker uncertain.

Surpassing the oath by Zeus, the chief of the gods, the oath by the gods collectively is the most common in Menander. In this usage his characters probably reflected the speech of daily life.<sup>11</sup> Two things (cf. Meinhardt) induced men to use this oath: first, the added dignity in the oath which invokes the general group of gods instead of merely one. Thus in E. 458, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς is the climax of a series of asseveratives (cf. Capps). But more frequently, though the line of demarcation is not always certain, men seem to swear by the gods in general simply because they have no definite god in mind. As a result this oath, originally strong, tended to become weaker and weaker.

In this connection may be mentioned the addition of an oath by the gods to that by some individual god, under the so-called rhetorical figure "amplificatio."<sup>12</sup> This form of expression strengthens the oath: a

<sup>10</sup> Cf. p. 11.

<sup>11</sup> Very frequent in the writers of dialogue (Meinhardt, 67) and in the orators (Kühnlein, 26); cf. Lasaulx, 179, n. 13; Ziebarth, 14. ὁμνῶ ὑμῖν θεοὺς πάντας in a papyrus letter of the third century B.C. (*P. Ashmol*, verso 5), cf. *Arch. Pap.* 1 (1901), 168; Wenger, 162 ff., 239. Also in oaths of public allegiance, Wenger, 242 (*Pet. Pap.* II [1893], 46 a) and 246 (Cumont, *REG.* XIV [1901], 26 f.) Wenger's interesting article is of but little value for this study, since in all the papyri which he discusses there chance to be only three oaths of persons in private life (161 ff., 239 ff.): the oath just cited ὁμνῶ τὸν Σάραπιν, *Les papyrus grecs du Musée du Louvre*, No. 47; and an oath by the Dioscuri, *Aegypt. Urkunden aus den kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, I (1895), 248.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Rehdantz, 13, s.v. *Erweiterung*; Kühnlein, 27; *Pl. Men.* 615, 655, 812, etc. The custom of winding up a long series of oaths with the all-inclusive formula θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας became very common after the time of Alexander. Cf.

single god, as it were, is picked out to punish the perjurer, and then the gods in general are asked to help, in case this one god fails. Instances of this, viz. E. 179 "Ἀπολλων καὶ θεοί; E. 183, E. 503 (?), νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ θεούς; Pk. 448, ὦ Γῆ [καὶ θεοί]; 893 K. ἀλλ' Ἡράκλειδες καὶ θεοί, will be treated under the head of the individual gods, respectively.

It does not seem possible, in considering these oaths by the gods in general, to assign in each instance such definite religious motives as I shall hope to do with the oaths by the individual gods. I doubt if a Greek of the fourth century could have done so. All that I shall attempt will be to note such general matters as formulae and epithets, with such especial commentary as the specific passages may demand.

Excluding the two oaths by the Twelve Gods, there are in Menander thirty-six oaths by the gods in general. The speakers are divided as follows:

Men:	<i>senes</i>	4 instances
	<i>servi</i>	13
	<i>milites</i>	2
	<i>adulescentes</i>	2
	<i>parasiti</i>	1
	<i>coqui</i>	1
	<i>incerti</i>	3
	—	
	Total,	26
Women:	<i>virgines</i>	1
	<i>meretrices</i>	4
	—	
	Total,	5
Sex uncertain:		5
	—	
	Total,	5

The formal oaths are used as follows: μὰ τοὺς θεούς, once; νῆ τοὺς θεούς, six times. In none of these seven cases is the oath a weak one, but in every instance the speaker is under deep emotion.

Ziebarth, 20, 34, n. 3; Usener, 22 f., Hirzel, 84; Lasaulx, 190, n. 68. Among the first instances are Eur. *Med.* 746, 752. This form of oath is frequent in Latin comedy, cf. esp. *Bacch.* 892-895. Cf. Serv. ad Verg. *Georg.* 1. 21.



$\pi\rho\acute{o}s$   $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\nu$ , apart from one instance of the formula  $\pi\rho\acute{o}s$   $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\nu$  καὶ δαιμόνων, occurs nine times;  $\pi\rho\acute{o}s$   $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$   $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\nu$ , six. This preference for the form without the article is at striking variance with the usage of Aristophanes, who uses the longer form twenty-six out of twenty-nine times; while Plato, on the contrary, uses it only twice out of thirteen times.<sup>13</sup> Porson, ad Eur. *Med.* 325, affirmed that the article was always omitted in tragedy. If so, in this respect, at least, Plato and Menander approached nearer the language of tragedy.

By these facts, however, we are not permitted to conclude that Aristophanes reproduced the popular speech more faithfully than did Menander. Perhaps the usage in Plato was due to tragic influence, while that in Menander may have been due to a change in popular usage during the century between Aristophanes and Menander. This suggestion is confirmed by the evidence of the Middle Comedy: Of nine instances of the oath  $\pi\rho\acute{o}s$  ( $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$ )  $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\nu$  cited by Selvers, 61, six are in the shorter form. A priori, one would expect such a decline in the use of the article in the later writers; frequent usage should tend to shorten the formula. So, Heron. 7. 99, we find καὶ μὰ  $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$ ; and yet in the bucolic poets the article is never omitted.<sup>14</sup> I am unwilling to hazard any explanation of these contradictory phenomena, though I am loth to ascribe the difference which we have noted to the whims of the individual writers, or to mere chance.

Menander confined these oaths introduced by  $\pi\rho\acute{o}s$  to imperative and interrogative sentences,<sup>15</sup> as did the orators<sup>16</sup> and Aristophanes.<sup>17</sup> The preposition  $\pi\rho\acute{o}s$  equals "in the presence of," "before," and the entire phrase, "in the presence of the gods," "in heaven's name." In its primitive force the phrase is supplicatory, suitable for the address of a superior by an inferior. Hence the use of  $\iota\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  in the same context with this oath

<sup>13</sup> Meinhardt, 9; cf. Fuller, *De articuli in antiquis Graecis comoediis usu*, Erlangen diss., Leipzig (1888), 75.

<sup>14</sup> Ameis, *De articuli usu apud poetas Graecorum bucolicos*, progr. Mühlhausen (1846), 37 g.; Fuller l.c.

<sup>15</sup> This rule would bar, for example, the punctuation adopted by Körte, Pk. 185, who groups  $\pi\rho\acute{o}s$   $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\nu$  with  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\nu\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\eta\sigma\theta\epsilon$ , as a simple declarative verb, instead of with the interrogative that follows. If  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\nu\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\eta\sigma\theta\epsilon$  is punctuated as a question, the oath may be construed with it; but the following indignant question, as the more emphatic, is more naturally accompanied by the oath. Cf. also S. 88, where Leo's punctuation is to be preferred.

<sup>16</sup> Frohberger, *Lysias* (1857), ad Or. 13. 95; Kühnlein, 57.

<sup>17</sup> "apparet Ar. huiusmodi formulas non usurpasse nisi ita ut sint postulantis s. vetantis aut interrogantis"—Bachmann, 147.

in E. 224 is appropriate, even though the entreating question is addressed by the speaker to himself.

Note the angry oath of Smicrines, E. 543, in which he joins the "demons" to the gods in the formula *πρὸς θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων*. As the sentence is not finished, we cannot tell exactly how Smicrines intended to use the oath. Without considering the complicated question of the exact nature of these "demons" (cf. Waser, P.-W. IV. 2010 ff. with bibl.), it is sufficient to understand by them that great mass of beings, less than gods but more than men, which the superstitious imagination of the Greeks thought ever capable of helping or harming men as they saw fit. I suspect that Smicrines thinks of them especially in their malignant manifestations, hoping to call down their ill-will upon the insolent Onesimus. With this oath compare the sweeping tone of Carion's surprised query, Arist. *Pl.* 81 f.:

ὦ Φοῖβ' Ἀπολλων καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες  
καὶ Ζεῦ, τί φῆς; ἐκείνος ὄντως εἰ σύ;

See also, in the orators, Isaeus 2.47; Demos. 42.17; Aesch. 3.137.<sup>18</sup>

The vocative form of the oath by all the gods, accompanied by the simple particle *ὦ*, occurs in five passages, the speaker in four instances being a woman. *ὦ θεοί* was primarily an exclamation, like other vocative oaths, e.g., *ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμητε* (cf. p. 37), *ὦ Γῇ καὶ θεοί* (cf. p. 24), *ὦ Ζεῦ Σῶτερ* (cf. p. 39), *ὦ Πόσειδον* (cf. p. 48). In E. 267, 272, it expresses admiration; E. 331, impassioned hope; Pk. 377, pity and commiseration; Pk. 397, despair. For similar uses in Aristophanes see Dunbar's Concordance, p. 139. Of these oaths Selters, 60 n. 1, says: "Homines eis utuntur si quid mirabile audiverunt, ut deorum in eare auxilium impetrent."

The Twelve Gods<sup>19</sup> were Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Demeter, Apollo, Artemis, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, Athena, Hephaestus, and Hestia. We find centers of their worship scattered all over Greece. Frequently in connection with the shrines of one of their number, and especially in the market places, altars were built in their honor. The altar in the market

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Kühnlein, 26 f. See also Heliod. 231. 11, with whom the collocation *θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες* was a favorite, see esp. 90. 19 (cf. 92. 9), 158. 22, 234. 8; cf. Rohde, *Der gr. Roman*<sup>2</sup>, (1900), 463.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Petersen, *Das Zwölfgöttersystem der Griechen u. Römer*, progr. Hamburg (1853-1868); Gruppe, *Müller's Hdb.* V 2. 1097 f., esp. 1098, n. 1, with bibl. See also Pl. *Epid.* 675.

at Athens was said to have been built by the younger Pisistratus.<sup>20</sup> “οὶ δώδεκα” was an exclamation of good omen, like the German “Gesundheit,” cf. schol. Arist. *Av.* 95. The earliest passage in which “the twelve” are used in an oath<sup>21</sup> is Arist. *Eq.* 235, where the Paphlagonian roundly curses Dicaeopolis and the Sausage-dealer:

οὔτοι μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεοὺς χαιρήσεται,  
ὅτιγ᾽ ᾽πὶ τῷ δήμῳ ξυνόμνυτον πάλαι.

As Petersen, I 16, remarks, since this oath occurs but once in Aristophanes it must have been rare in private conversation, and reserved for important occasions. In Menander it occurs twice, S. 91, and Kl. 85, on each occasion a most solemn oath. It occurs, for the fourth time in the extant Greek literature, in Alciph. *Epist.* 2. 3. 8., the well-known letter of Menander to Glycera. Menander assures Glycera that he has absolutely no intention of going to Ptolemy's court: πλεῖν μὲν καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπέραι μακρὰν οὕτως καὶ ἀפקισμένην βασιλείαν οὔσαν, μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεοὺς, οὐδὲ ἐνθυμοῦμαι. Alciphron's imitation of the style of Menander is a matter of common knowledge.<sup>22</sup> Inasmuch as three out of four of the known examples of this oath come from Menander or his conscious imitator, the question suggests itself, whether its use was not characteristic of his style. Probably this oath had increased in usage by the time of Menander and hence was not as strong as it had been originally.

The oath ὦ πολυτίμητοι θεοί occurs twice in Menander, 535 and 109 K. The second is a very corrupt passage. Editors have sought to reduce the quotation to an iambic trimeter by emending it in various ways, notably by reading πολύτιμοι for πολυτίμητοι,<sup>23</sup> which stands in all the authors by whom the verse is quoted. Meineke<sup>24</sup> sought to defend

<sup>20</sup> Thucyd. 6. 54; cf. Molin, *De ara apud Graecos*, diss. Berlin (1884), 48.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Ziebarth, 14; Hense, BphW. XXIX (1909), 355.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Schmid, P.-W. I 1549; Volkmann, *Studia Alciphronica*, I. *De Alciphronis comoe diae imitatore*, diss. Breslau (1886), 31 ff.; Bonner, ClPh. IV (1909), 32, n. 1; Guizot, *Ménandre, étude historique et littéraire sur la comédie et la société grecques*, Paris (1855), 68 ff. with nn.

<sup>23</sup> ὦ πολυτίμητοι θεοί Pet. Victorius ed. (1550) Clem. Alex. 7. 4. 24; Grotius, *Excerpta ex tragoediis* (1626), 715; *id. Men. et Phil. reliquiae* (1709), 40; Dindorf, ad Clem. Alex. (1869-70), l.c.; Cobet, N. L. (1868), 56 f.; Blaydes; Cramer, *Anecd. Ox.* IV 251; Theodor. *Affect. cur.* (Räder, 1904) 6. 88. 5; Räder, Nord. Tidskrift f. Filol. (1896), 54-56 (cf. Holzinger, Burs. Jahresb. [1903], 321 f.), who has anticipated much of my argument on this passage. πολύτιμοι θεοί Sylburg, ad Clem. Alex. (1592) 302. 13; Mein.; Kock.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Lobeck, ad Soph. *Aj.*<sup>1</sup> (1809), 242; Valekenär, ad Theoc. *Adon.* (1810), p. 228 c.



the emendation by impugning the testimony of the lexicographer Ammonius, who (p. 118), plainly distinguishes between the two words: πολῦτιμος ὁ πολλῆς τιμῆς ἡγορασμένος ἄνθρωπος, πολυτίμητος δὲ ὁ πολλῆς τιμῆς ἄξιος: "And so," he says, "we call the gods πολυτιμήτους." To show that the two words were not always as carefully distinguished as the rule of Ammonius demands, Meineke quotes the famous reply of the Megarian in *Ach.* 759 to the query of Dicaeopolis as to the price of food at Megara: παρ' ἁμὶ πολυτίματος ἅπερ τοῖ θεοί. Meineke also cited for a similar use of πολυτίμητος = πολῦτιμος, *expensive*, Arist. 387.9 K.; Callix. ap. Athen. 5. 200 b; and Epichar. ap. Athen. 7. 282 d. From this evidence Meineke concluded that the two words were frequently interchanged. But the evidence merely proves that πολυτίμητος was sometimes used in the sense which the grammatical purist insisted belonged properly to πολῦτιμος, i.e., *expensive*. But there is nothing to prove the converse, that πολῦτιμος was ever used for πολυτίμητος, *reverend*, especially as an epithet of the gods. There is no instance of it in Menander, and the few apparent exceptions elsewhere are due to faulty tradition.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, πολυτίμητος as an epithet of the gods is very common,<sup>26</sup> especially in oaths, e.g., in Menander ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμητε, in Pk. 313, 351 K., and 848. The manuscript reading πολυτίμητοι should, therefore, be preserved in 109 K. Whatever metrical fault there may be in the quotation, it lies elsewhere than in the last three words. The simplest remedy is to assume with Cobet a lacuna after γένοιτο.

I have called this an oath. It is really a combination of a curse and an oath:<sup>27</sup> "So help me god, but this is true,"—to use the modern equivalent—or "ita me di ament" of the Romans.<sup>28</sup> The same curse, but without the invocation of the gods, occurs elsewhere in Menander, E. 47, 530;

<sup>25</sup> See Stephanus *Thes.* s.v. πολυτίμητος, Cobet l.c. Arist. *Ran.* 324 πολυτίμοις Hermann (followed by Mein., Kock, *et al.*), a faulty emendation.

<sup>26</sup> E.g., Arist. *Ach.* 807; *Eq.* 1390; *Nub.* 269, 293, 328; *Vesp.* 1001; *Pax* 978, 1016; *Av.* 667; *Thesm.* 286, 594; *Ran.* 337, 399; 319 K.; Antiph. 145 K.; Pher. 73 K.; Eubul. 117 K.; Plut. *Mulier. virtt.* 258 b. Cf. ὦ πολυτίμητ' Αἴσχυλε Arist. *Ran.* 851; ὦ πολυτίμητε Εὐθύδημε Pl. *Euthyd.* 296 d.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Lasaulx, 178; Hirzel, s.v. *Der Eid ein Fluch*, 137 ff. with parallels cited; also Capps, ad E. 47 and J. II 23 (p. 97).

<sup>28</sup> Pl. *Amph.* 597. *Bacch.* 111, *Cas.* 452, etc., cf. Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum*, I 113 f.

cf. E. 141, 145, Pk. 213, J. II 23.<sup>29</sup> The invocation without the curse stands alone in 535 K., where it is clearly an oath of the exclamatory tone peculiar to the vocatives introduced by  $\tilde{\omega}$ .

Somewhat similar as an exclamation is the oath  $\tilde{\omega}$  φίλοι θεοί, 429 K. Compare the exclamation in Arist. *Pl.* 854:

Ἵππολλον ἀποτρίπαιε καὶ θεοὶ φίλοι,  
τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ὃ τι πέπονθεν ἄνθρωπος κακόν;

So also, *Pl.* 734,  $\tilde{\omega}$  φίλοι θεοί is, in the words of Fischer, "vox admirationis sed simul sperantis bonum et laetum rei exitum." For the force of the epithet φίλοι, see p. 27.

## OATHS BY ATHENA.

Pk. 113 οὐκ ἀηδής, ὡς ἔοικέν, εἰμ' ἰδεῖν οὐδ' ἐντυχεῖν,  
οὔομαι, μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐταίραις προσφιλής.

*Adulescens* Moschion boasts of his attractions.

293. 5 K. Στ. Ἀλεξάνδρου πλέον  
τοῦ βασιλέως πέπωκας. B. οὐκ ἔλαττον, οὔ,  
μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν.<sup>1</sup>

*Miles gloriosus* Bias answers the flattering Strouthias.<sup>2</sup>

536. 1 K. μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἄνδρες, εἰκόν' οὐκ ἔχω  
εὐρεῖν ὁμοίαν τῷ γεγονότι πράγματι,  
"Verba sunt novi amatoris" (Cobet) or "novi mariti" (Porson).

402. 13 K. εἴτ' ἐστὶ τὸ  
φρύαγμά πως ὑποστατόν; μὰ τὸν Δία  
τὸν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, οὐδαμῶς.  
"Maritus senex," Gell. *N. Att.* 2. 23. 8, ad h. l.

<sup>29</sup> In all these passages, as in Alciph. *Epist.* 1. 36. 2, ps.-Demos. *proem.* 33. 2, and in the similar formulae cited by Bergler, ad Alciph. l.c. (cf. Stephanus *Thes.* 1 128), the dative of the personal pronoun is never omitted. Hence the objection to the reading of our passage proposed by Räder:

ἀγαθόν τι γίνοιτ' ὃ πολυτίμητοι θεοί.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀθηναίαν, Mein. "inconsulto" (Blaydes), a form unknown to later comedy, not found in inscriptions after 342 B.C.; indeed, Ἀθηνᾶν is the prevailing form after 362 B.C.; cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzer, 31, n. 157, 32. 2, 123. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Mein.; Naber, Mn. VIII (1880), 416; Kock.

- 569 K. Ἰλκυέρα, τί κλάεις; ὁμνύω σοι τὸν Δία  
τὸν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, φιλτάτη,  
ὁμωμοκῶς καὶ πρότερον ἤδη πολλάκις.

*Miles Polemon* (?) soothes his mistress (*Capps*).<sup>3</sup>

472. 1 K. νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, μακάριόν γ' ἡ χρηστότης  
πρὸς πάντα καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἐφόδιον βίω.

Unknown man speaking: *servus* or *senex*?

140. 1 K. πρὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, δαιμονᾶς, γεγονὼς ἔτη  
τοσαυθ' ;

*Senex* reproves *senem*. (Ter. *Heaut.* I. 1, Chremes addresses Menedemus.)

- Kl. 22 δέσποι]ν<sup>4</sup> Ἀθηνᾶ, σῶζέ με.

Speaker uncertain.<sup>5</sup>

As Athena was the especial goddess of Athens, so the oath by Athena was peculiarly an Athenian oath.<sup>6</sup> With Ζεὺς πατήρ and Apollo, Athena is invoked in a formula of wish or curse that occurs several times in Homer.<sup>7</sup> In Aristophanes, there is only one instance of Athena's name in an oath, viz., *Pax* 218, but after Aristophanes this oath becomes frequent.<sup>8</sup>

In Menander men swear by Athena, usually not as the protecting deity of the city (πολιὰς), but as the goddess of wisdom, knowledge, and truth.<sup>9</sup> By her, Moschion asserts his prowess with the ladies, Pk. 113; by her Bias affirms the truth of his boastful tales, 293. 5 K; her name is used to strengthen the aphorisms of worldly philosophy, 472. 1. K. In the name of Athena, friend accuses friend of insanity, 140. 1. K; an appeal is made

<sup>3</sup> Moschion (?), Rob.; v. 3, Glycera, Capps.

<sup>4</sup> G.-H.

<sup>5</sup> Doris, Kretschmar, 65, but women never used this oath; cf. p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Luc. *De sacrif.* 10, schol. ad *Il.* 2. 371. Cf. Arist. *Pax* 217; Kühnlein, 28; Meinhardt, 55 f., 71; Ziebarth, 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Il.* 2. 371, 4. 288, 7. 132, 16. 97; *Od.* 4. 341, 7. 311, 17. 132, 18. 235.

<sup>8</sup> Lasaulx, n. 14, Meinhardt, 55. For its use in various triple, public oaths, see Usener, 19 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Meinhardt, 56; cf. Welcker, *Gr. Götterl.* I 314 f., II 303 ff.; Preller-Robert, 221 ff. Nicostratus (Brandis schol. in Aristot. 87 b. 30 ff.) gives νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἔπραξα τάδε, οὐ μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν οὐκ ἔπραξα, as typical oaths of affirmation and denial (Hirzel, 4, n. 5).



to her by a person who cannot find speech adequate to express the wretchedness of his plight, 536. 1 K.

But because Athena was the Athenian goddess par excellence, an oath by her had peculiar sanctity, especially when coupled with that by another great divinity whom the Athenians worshipped in common with her, as, for example, Olympian Zeus.<sup>10</sup> This double oath is used in 402. 13 K and 569, by the hen-pecked husband and the lover (Polemon?) respectively.<sup>11</sup> The binding power of this particular oath is apparent in the lover's last remark, 569: having sworn so often,<sup>12</sup> as he says, he certainly would not weaken his case now with a common-place oath.<sup>13</sup>

Lastly it will be noticed that only men swear by Athena.<sup>14</sup> This is in conformity with her character as a patron of the manly arts and virtues, rather than those of Aphrodite (Weleker, *Gr. Götterl.* I 314).

I have included Kl. 22 for the sake of completeness, though the passage sounds more like a prayer than an oath proper. Unfortunately, since the papyrus is so broken that context and speaker are uncertain, little can be learned as to the exact usage of the oath. The epithet *δέσποινα*, which the English editors have here restored, is frequently applied to this goddess,<sup>15</sup> for example: Arist. *Eq.* 763, *Pax* 271 (distinctly an oath); Eur. *Suppl.* 1227, *Rhes.* 608, *Cycl.* 350; Kaibel, *Epigr.* 796. 1; Heron. 4. 58; Soph. *Aj.* 38. 105, Plato *Legg.* 796 f., etc. It also occurs in an oath in Dinarchus 1. 36, *ὦ δέσποινα* 'Αθηνᾶ καὶ Ζεῦ σῶτερ. It was not, however, an epithet peculiar to Athena, but might be used of any goddess held in great reverence.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Ziebarth, 14. Cf. Weleker, II 280 f.; Prell.-Rob. 188, 220; Dümmler in P.-W. II 2001 f.; Usener, 330; Gruppe, Müller's Hdb. V 2. 1217 f.

<sup>11</sup> This same formula, Alexis 231 K. (Meinhardt, 56). Cf. Arist. *Pax* 218, Liban. II 102. 6.

<sup>12</sup> These do not sound to me like the words of Glycera (Capps); cf. *καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις ὁμώμοκα*, Theophr. *Char.* 13, where, however, the *περίεργος* is bombastic (Hirzel, 87, n. 2).

<sup>13</sup> *ὄμνυμι* in place of *μά, νή* is emphatic; cf. Heron. 3. 83, *ὄμνυμι . . . τὰς φίλας Μούσας*; Schröder (1859), 5 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Meinhardt, 56. Only once in Plautus or Terence: *Bacch.* 893, Minerva is one of the seventeen deities by whom Chrysalus *servus* swears. Women did swear by "Αγλαυρος, e.g. Arist. *Thesm.* 533, who was sometimes identified with Athena, cf. Harpocration s.v. "Αγλαυρος; Neumann-Partsch, *Phys. Geogr. von Griechenland.* (1885), 32.

<sup>15</sup> Here, as elsewhere, I am largely indebted to Bruchmann, *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur* (1893).

<sup>16</sup> The "Clouds," Arist. *Nub.* 356; Cybele, *Av.* 877; Hecate, Aesch. 388 N.; Artemis, Soph. *El.* 626; Aphrodite, Alciph. *Ep.* 1. 32. 1, 36. 3, 39. 1. This list (Stephanus *Thes.* s.v.) could be considerably extended.



- S. 94 Δ. συγκρούπτεις τι πρὸς μ' ἤδη πάλαι.  
 Π. μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον, μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλ[ω, 'γὼ μὲν οὐ,<sup>1</sup>  
 μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτήρα, μὰ τὸν Ἀ[σκληπιόν.

*Servus* Parmenon, terrified by his master Demeas, who threatens to flog him.

- S. 251 N. καὶ βουκολεῖς με; Δ. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, 'γὼ μὲν οὔ.  
*Senex* Demeas reassures Niceratus, troubled by his daughter's plight.

- E. 457 ὑπομαίνειθ' οὗτος, νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, μαίνεται,  
 μεμάνητ' ἀληθῶς, μαίνεται, νῆ τοὺς θεούς.

*Servus* Onesimus, of his master Charisius.

- E. 503 νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω [  
 Context and restoration most uncertain;<sup>2</sup> probably *servus* Onesimus (Capps).<sup>3</sup>

- E. 183 τοῦ δεσπότου 'στί, νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ θεούς.  
*Servus* Onesimus lays claim to his master's ring.

- Pk. 172 χαλεπὰ ταῦτα παντελῶς  
 τὰ πράγματ' ἐστί, νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτο[νί.<sup>4</sup>  
 Speaker uncertain.<sup>5</sup>

- 740 K. μαρτύρομαι, [ναὶ μὰ]<sup>6</sup> τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτονί<sup>7</sup>  
 καὶ τὰς θύρας.

Unknown speaker.

Here, also, possibly E. 503, cf. *supra*, νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω [τουτονί.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Crois., Ell., Head., Leo. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, 'γὼ μὲν οὐ occurs in Aristophanes *Ach.* 59, 101; *Eq.* 14, 1041; *Pax* 16; *Av.* 263, 439 (Hense, BphW. XXIX [1909], 365); and *Nub.* 732; in Menander twice, Pk. 138, S. 251. Cf. Capps.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 4; or perhaps Ἀπόλλω τουτονί, cf. *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Senex* Charisius (Rob.); but cf. *ιέρουσα*, v. 504. Habrotonon (Crois., Kör.) but women do not swear by Apollo, cf. p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Head., Leo., ταῦτ' ὀκνῶ Sud. (ταῦτα Jen.)

<sup>5</sup> *Servus* Davus (Leeu., Capps), *ostiarius* (Donax?) (Kör.), *servus* Polemonis (Gerhard), *servus* Sosias (Lef., Crois., Crön., Head., Sud.). Habrotonon (Rob.), Doris (Wil.); but women do not use this oath, cf. p. 18. See Gerhard, Phil. LXIX (1910), 16 ff. with nn.; Capps, *crit. app.*

<sup>6</sup> Mein.

<sup>7</sup> Bentley.

<sup>8</sup> Capps, Kör.

The oath by Apollo was especially sacred at Athens.<sup>9</sup> It was a very old oath of the Ionians, being especially appropriate as used by Achilles to Calchas, the prophet of Apollo, in *Il.* 1. 86.<sup>10</sup> Neither in Menander nor in other writers is there any instance of a woman's swearing by Apollo.<sup>11</sup> The most frequent aspect under which he was invoked was as the averter of ills, ἀποτρόπαιος or ἀλεξίκακος;<sup>12</sup> though as it happens these epithets are not found in Menander nor in any of the comic poets of Middle or New Comedy.<sup>13</sup> However, with this meaning Ἀπόλλων became so common an invocation that it lost all of its significance as an oath, and degenerated into the mere sign of a question or an exclamation.<sup>14</sup> To the examples of the vocative which Meinhardt gives, i.e., 337 K., 403. 4, 489, should now be added Pk. 440, S. 222, 225. Pk. 440 has been cited by several commentators<sup>15</sup> as a further example of the Greek fondness for "etymologizing,"<sup>16</sup> the derivation of Ἀπόλλων from ἀπόλλυμι being almost a commonplace.<sup>17</sup> In E. 179, Syriscus calls upon Apollo ἀλεξίκακος,

<sup>9</sup> Meinhardt, 30; Ziebarth, 9. See citations by Wernicke, P.-W. II 14. The heliastic oath was νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα (cf. Fränkel, *Herm.* XIII [1878], 452 ff. esp. 460) or νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶ καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα (cf. Ziebarth, 17 f. with bibl.). See also Prell.-Rob. 110 n. 1; Usener, 19; Hirtzel, 127 n. 1; Meier-Schönm.-Lip. 151 ff.; Lasaulx, 197 ff. with nn., 181 n. 16.

<sup>10</sup> See also citations s.v. Athena, n. 7. For official oaths, see Usener, 17 ff. Cf. Lasaulx, n. 14.

<sup>11</sup> Schol. Arist. *Lysist.* 917. Cf. Meinhardt, 30, 33; Ziebarth, 11, also in P.-W. V 2077. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω is used by Ergasilus *parasitus*, Pl. *Capt.* 880, Phaniscus *servus*, *Most.* 973. Women posing as men swear by Apollo, Arist. *Lysist.* 917, *Eccl.* 160, 631.

<sup>12</sup> Bothe (1845) ad Arist. *Eq.* 1307 (1195), *Nub.* 1372 (1314), *Plut.* 359 (355); Wilamowitz (1895), ad Eurip. *Heracl.* 821; Kock (1853), Ribbeck (1864), Leeuwen (1901), ad Arist. *Eq.* 1307; Kock (1852), ad Arist. *Nub.* 1372; Meinhardt, 31, 33; Ziebarth, 11; Schönm.-Lip. II<sup>4</sup> 371 f.; Wernicke in P.-W. II 16.

<sup>13</sup> Only in Eupol. *inc. fr.* II 577. 16 M. (= Arist. *Eq.* 1307). Elsewhere in Arist., *Vesp.* 161, *Av.* 61, *Pl.* 359, 854.

<sup>14</sup> Schol. Arist. *Pl.* 555; schol. Pl. *Rep.* 509 c. Cf. Meinhardt, 32.

<sup>15</sup> Weil, J. S. (1900), 53; Kretschmar, 103; Hense, *BphW.* XXIX (1909), 355; Capps.

<sup>16</sup> Elmsley, ad Eur. *Bacch.* 508; Fuochi, *Le etimologie dei nomi propri nei tragici Greci*, StIF. VI (1898), 273-378. Eitrem, *BphW.* XXVIII (1908), 416, goes a little far, perhaps, in treating as conscious plays upon words:

E. 563 ἀγαθὸν σὺ κρίνεις, Σμικρῖνι;  
or Smicrines' word to Sophrone:

E. 529 κρίνομαι πρὸς Σωφρόνην.  
and E. 531 Σωφρόνη γάρ.

<sup>17</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 1081, Eur. 781. 11. N. (cf. schol. Eur. *Orest.* 1389), Archil. 20 (Hil-ler-Crusius); Pl. *Crat.* 404e; *Apocalyps.* 9. 11; Macrobian. 1. 17. Cf. Blaydes ad



and then the rest of the gods, as Croiset remarks "collectivement et par surcroît."<sup>18</sup>

With the particles *νῆ* or *μά*, in affirmations or negations, Apollo as the god of truth and prophecy<sup>19</sup> was frequently invoked. This usage is found in Menander in emphatic answers: H. 39, Pk. 138. In S. 94, the terror-stricken Parmenon calls not only Apollo to witness his innocence but also Dionysus, Zeus Soter, and Asclepius. Hense, BphW. XXIX (1909), 355, has remarked with much probability that we have here a reminiscence of some state formula of the period in which the old sacred groups of three were being reassembled into newer and larger groups, according to the hypothesis advanced by Usener, 22 f. E. 457 f. gives another very good example of *νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω* in an affirmation. Here the verbal idea is repeated three times, and the asseveration taken up twice again in *ἀληθῶς* and *νῆ τοὺς θεούς*.<sup>20</sup> Similarly *νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ θεούς*, E. 183, as Croiset<sup>21</sup> has remarked, is a strong formula of affirmation. As to E. 503, nothing can be asserted. S. 251 is interesting because, in addition to the customary affirmation, there may be a possible reference to Apollo, the "neat-herd" (*Νόμος*, *Ποίμνιος*, etc.).<sup>22</sup>

In 740 K.,<sup>23</sup> to which Pk. 172 is now to be added, and possibly E. 503, we have an oath by *τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτονί*. 740 K. concludes with an oath by *τὰς θύρας*<sup>24</sup>, an indication that Apollo in some way is connected with

Aesch. Ag. 1081; Prell.-Rob. 230 n. 3, 232 n. 3; Ziegler, *De praecationum apud Graecos formis quaestiones selectae*, diss. Breslau (1905), 55 f.; Fuochi, 305.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Hense, BphW. XXIX (1909), 1492. This is an excellent example of *amplificatio*, cf. p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Meinhardt, 28; Prell.-Rob. 281 ff., and esp. Wernicke in P.-W. II 14, who derives the oath by Apollo entirely from his function as a god of prophecy. But Arist. *Vesp.* 161, and *Av.* 61, two passages cited by him, are obviously prayers to a god who can save from harm, since the epithet *ἀποτρόπαιος* is used.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Capps. I have assumed that E. 458 belongs here. Interpolation was suspected by Ell. and Harburtun. Diels (cf. Körte, BSG. LX [1908], 133) followed by Crois., Kör., deletes it as a mere variant for v. 457. Now, see Jensen.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Hense, BphW. XXIX (1909), 1492.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Prell.-Rob. 269 f.; Wernicke, P.-W. II 10, 25 f.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. J. B. Hensen (in Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum* V) *De iureiurando veterum* (1696), 836; Bentley (1710); Mein. (1823); Lobeck, *Aglaopham.* (1829), 1335; Dobree (1831-3); Fritzsche (1838) ad Arist. *Thesm.* 748; Schröder, (1845), 4 n.; (1859), 25; Kock (1888); Meinhardt (1892), 21; Blaydes, ad Arist. *Thesm.* (1880), 748, *Adver.* II (1896), 232. Hirzel, 13 n. 4, compares *οὐ μὰ τὰ δ' ἀθανάτων εὐκόσμητα πορθύραια*, *Hymn. in Mercur.* 384, cf. *id.* 17, 20, 22 n. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Wrongfully suspected by Naber, Mn. VIII (1880), 425; Blaydes, *Adver.* See Suidas h.l. (s.v. *ναὶ μὰ τό*) for examples of oaths by inanimate objects; cf. Schröder (1859), 21 f.; Meinhardt, 72; Hirzel, 13 f. To emend *θύρας* is to remove most

the doorways mentioned. Perhaps, as Professor Capps has suggested to me, we should read *τουτονὶ παρὰ τὰς θύρας*. From many passages in comedy<sup>25</sup> and tragedy<sup>26</sup>—in some cases with a form of expression very similar to that which we have here—and the ancient comments<sup>27</sup> on those passages, it is very clear that it was a custom, in making this oath, to confirm it by touching or making a sweeping gesture towards the statue or altar of the god (perhaps both together)<sup>28</sup> which stood in front of the house.<sup>29</sup> The god who is here invoked is without any doubt Apollo Ἀγνιεύς,<sup>30</sup> the guardian of goings-forth and comings-in, with whose worship that of Apollo Πατρῶος may possibly have been joined.<sup>31</sup> It has been thought that we are to picture him as represented here by the conical, obelisk-shaped stones, which the commentators tell us were emblems of Apollo Agyieus. If so, it is remarkable that we have no archaeological evidence of such a stage setting.<sup>32</sup> We may be practically certain, I think, that an altar<sup>33</sup> of the ordinary round (*βωμόν*—*στρογγύλον*,

of the point of Suidas' citation. He says: οἱ ἀρχαῖοι οὐ προπετῶς κατὰ τῶν θεῶν ὤμνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν προστυχανόντων, ὡς καὶ Μένανδρος κτλ. Cf. "per praesentes deos jurat," Curt. *De gest. Alex.* 6. 25. 5; Hirzel, 24 n. 1; "iuro, per te praesentem conspicuumque deum," Ovid, *Trist.* 2. 53 f.

<sup>25</sup> Arist. *Thesm.* 748 (cf. Apollon. Dysc. *De pron.* 372 Bekk.), *Nub.* 84 with schol., *Vesp.* 875 with schol.; Pherec. 87 K.; Ter. *Andr.* 726 (cf. Men. 45 K.) with Donat. *ad l.* (Wessner [1902], reads Ἀγνιαῖον for Δήλιον, cf. Dziatzko, *RhMus.* XXXI [1876], 239 f.); Pl. *Most.* 1094, *Bacch.* 172, *Merc.* 676, *Truc.* 476, *Rud.* 1333, *Mil. Glor.* 411, *Aulul.* 584 f., 606 f., *Curc.* 71; Men. 748 K. (read with Mein. *τοῦτον* for *αὐτόν*). Cf. Fritzsche (1838) *ad Arist. Thesm.* 748; Welcker, I 495-499; Prell.-Rob. 276 and n. 1; Reisch, P.-W. I 910-913; Kretschmar, 103, *ad Pk.* 440.

<sup>26</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 1081, *Soph. El.* 637, 645, cf. 1375, *O. T.* 919, *Eur. Phoen.* 274, 631. Cf. Brunck (1786) *ad Soph. O. T.* 16.; Reisch l.c., Prell.-Rob. l.c.

<sup>27</sup> For citation and discussion of principal passages, see Welcker l.c., Reisch l.c., Prell.-Rob. l.c.

<sup>28</sup> Hellad. ap. Phot. 535 b. Bekk.; cf. Reisch, P.-W. I 1654 f.

<sup>29</sup> Poll. 4. 123: ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ ἀγνιεύς ἔκειτο βωμὸς πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν; *Harporocr.* s.v. ἀγνιεύς: οἱ πρὸ τῶν οἰκῶν βωμοί, ὡς φασιν Κρατῖνος καὶ Μένανδρος. For evidence of vase-paintings, etc., cf. Reisch, P.-W. I 912 f.

<sup>30</sup> See also, Daremb.-Sagl. I 168 f.; Schöm.-Lip. II 184, 581. Molin, *De ara apud Graecos*, diss. Berlin (1884), 24; Olivieri, *Rivista di filologia*, XXVIII (1900), 449 on Pk. 427, Capps, *ad Pk.* 242 (172); Meinhardt, 71; Ziebarth, 7 f.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Petersen, *Hausgottesdienst der alten Griechen* (1857), 14 f.; Reisch, P.-W. I 1648, 912. Molin, 27 f., places the altar of Apollo, protector of the home, within the living-room; cf. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen* (1890), II 290 n. 2.

<sup>32</sup> They do appear on coins, cf. Reisch, P.-W. I 911 f.

<sup>33</sup> Altars, of course, are commonly represented on vase-paintings dealing with dramatic scenes, cf. Wieseler, *Das Theatergebäude* (1851), III 18, IX 9, 10 (Molin l.c. 50). That it was represented on the stage of new comedy is clear from the

Hellad. l.c.) or cubical shape, stood on the stage. Whether by this altar, there stood the conical emblem of the god, or even his complete statue, is a matter concerning which, in my opinion, no definite decision can be reached. (Reisch, P.-W. I 911 ff.)

## OATHS BY ASCLEPIUS.

Pk. 146 M. φλυαρεῖς πρὸς με. Δ. μὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν,  
οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἐὰν ἀκούσῃς.

*Servus* Davus hoodwinks his master Moschion about Glycera.

S. 95 Δ. συγκρύπτεις τι πρὸς μ' ἤδη πάλαι.  
Π. μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον, μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλ[ω, 'γὼ μὲν οὔ,  
μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτῆρα, μὰ τὸν Ἀ[σκληπιόν.<sup>1</sup>

*Servus* Parmenon, terrified by his master Demeas, who threatens to flog him.

91 K. οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκτεὺς τοῦτο, μὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν.

Speaker unknown.

The worship of Asclepius was not introduced into Athens until about the year 420 B. C.<sup>2</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that oaths by him are rare and late: there are none in the orators, none in Aristophanes, and only one in the Middle Comedy, viz. Alexis 163 K., speaker uncertain.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the first appearance of the oath is in the famous formula which

passages already cited (n. 25). Note esp. Men. 748 K. and Pk. 421 στέφανον ἀπὸ βω[μοῦ τινα] ἀφελὼν ἐπιθέσθαι βούλομαι, where perhaps some other word than τινά should be supplied. On this last passage see Weil, JS. (1900), 51; Olivieri l.c.; Holzinger, Bursian's *Jahrb.* (1903), 320; Kretschmar, 96, 103; Capps.

<sup>1</sup> Lef.

<sup>2</sup> Körte, MAI. XVIII (1893), 246 ff., cleverly restored I G. II 1649, frg. a, l. 10, found on the site of the Aselepieum: οὕτως ἰδρύθη [τὸ ἱερὸ]ν τόδε ἅπαν ἐπὶ [Ἀστυφί]λο ἄρχοντος, 420 B.C.

Outside limits had already been recognized: after 422, cf. Arist. *Vesp.* 122; before 406, year of the death of Sophocles, traditionally associated with the cult of Asclepius (cf. Preller-Robert, 521, and n. 2; Alice Walton, *Cult of Asklepios* [1894], 29 f.; Deneken in Roscher I 2537 f.). The novelty of the theme gave point to much of the satire of the god in Arist. *Pl.* (1st ed. 408, 2nd 388). *Pl. Cur.* (the Greek original of which Hüffner, *De Plauti comoediarum exemplis Atticis quaestiones maxime chronologicae*, diss. Göttingen [1894], 18 f., 72, dated 310-9), tells us nothing, as its scene is laid at Epidaurus.

<sup>3</sup> None, also, in Plautus or Terence.

Hippocrates is said to have ordained that all physicians should swear: 'Ἀπόλλωνα ἰητρὸν καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Ὑγίειαν καὶ Πανάκειαν καὶ θεοὺς πάντας τε καὶ πάσας.<sup>4</sup>

In Menander the strong negation *μὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν* occurs three times. From 91 K., as speaker and context are unknown, nothing can belearned as to the character of the oath.<sup>5</sup> In each of the other two passages, Pk. 146, S. 95, a slave, cowering before his master's well-founded suspicion and threats, stoutly affirms his innocence. In the second passage Parmenon calls upon Dionysus, Apollo, Zeus Soter, and Asclepius in what seems climactic order.<sup>6</sup> Asclepius, therefore, is summoned, not as the god of medicine, but as the guardian from all bodily harm whatsoever, in which aspect he was commonly worshipped with the epithet *Σωτήρ*.<sup>7</sup>

#### OATHS BY APHRODITE.

E. 263 οὐπω γὰρ ἄνδρ' ᾗδεν τί ἐστι—καὶ μάλα,  
μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην—

*Meretrix* Habrotonon would convince the incredulous Onesimus of her recent innocence.

Pk. 413 Π. κατεγέλα γ' ἐμοῦ;  
Δ. μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἀλλ' ἐνεδύετο στολήν,  
ὁ πατήρ ἐπεξήταξε.

*Ancilla* Doris assures Polemon that Glycera is preparing to come back to him.

Lovers, whether male or female, or women engaged in the arts of love, were the chief persons who swore by the goddess of love. The oath occurs chiefly on the lips of women;<sup>1</sup> and in Menander, of women only:

<sup>4</sup> Hippocrates, ed. Littré (1844) IV. 628, cf. Ermerins, ed. (1864), *Praefat.* XIV; Lasaulx, 206 f. (cf. 180, n. 14); Ziebarth, 34.

<sup>5</sup> "Obscurum est" Meinhardt, 48.

<sup>6</sup> As to the quadruple form of the oath, cf. p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Prell.-Rob. 524 f.; Thrämer, P.-W. II 1655 f., 1677, with bibl.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Arist. *Eccl.* 999, schol. *Pl.* 1069. Cf. Meinhardt, 59 ff., 70, 78; Ziebarth, 13; Lasaulx, n. 14. Arrian *Cyneg.* 35. 2: οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐρωτικά Ἀφροδίτην (θύουσιν). Eugraphius ad Ter. *Eun.* I 2 (Klotz [1838], I 409 f.):

"Menander aperte dicit meretrices juxta domum suam vel in atrio solitas habere aram Veneris vulgaris cui quotidie sacrificarent."

The members of the Achaean league swore by Zeus Amaris, Athena Amaria, and Aphrodite, cf. Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> No. 229. 6 f. (Ziebarth, 20; Usener, 21.) In Latin comedy, there is only one oath by Venus, that of Stephanium *ancilla*, *Stich.* 742.



E. 263, the *meretrix* Habrotonon swears vehemently by the goddess of love that she was a virgin only a year before; and Pk. 413, the slave-girl with a similar affirmation assures Polemon that the lady of his heart is about to return to him.

## OATHS BY GÊ.

Pk. 448

Πατ. τῷ γὰρ νύϞ λαμβάνω  
τὴν τοῦ Φιλίνου θυγατέρ'. Μ. ὦ Γῆ |καὶ θεοί.

*Adulescens* Mosechion, in surprise.<sup>1</sup>

J. I. 58

ὦ Γῆ: τί ποήσω

Context and speaker uncertain.

The oath by the earth goddess, Gê, was among the most binding which any Homeric god or hero could swear.<sup>2</sup> In later literature,<sup>3</sup> where this goddess is invoked, it is not always easy to tell whether the speaker is praying or swearing, nor whether the goddess as a person is clearly distinguished from the element.<sup>4</sup> The oath by any of the elements was, in early times, peculiarly sacred to the gods and hence to mortals.<sup>5</sup> It is a question how far the Greeks of the fourth and fifth centuries felt, even unconsciously, the subtle distinctions which modern students of comparative religions have tried to draw. A Greek sometimes swore by the earth, perhaps, because it was the first thing that occurred to him;<sup>6</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* 15. 36, 19. 259, *Od.* 5. 184; cf. the Trojan sacrifice to Gê and Helios, *Il.* 3. 103.

<sup>3</sup> μὰ τὴν γῆν: Strato 1. 41, 47 K., Theoph. 2 K., Anaxil. 9 K., Ephipp. 11 K.; μὰ γῆν: Antiph. 296 K. = Timocl. 38 K., Arist. *Av.* 194; πρὸς γᾶς: Epier. 11. 7 K.; πρὸς τῆς γῆς: Arist. *Nub.* 366; ὦ γῆ: Arist. *Nub.* 364; ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί: Nicost. 5 K., *adesp.* 3 K., Aristaen. *Ep.* 2. 20, p. 170 Herch., Demos. 18. 139, 158, 294, 19. 287, 311, 22. 78, 55. 28. Cf. Aesch. 3. 137, 260, IG. IX 412; CIG. 538, 539, Aesch. *Choeph.* 127, Heliod. 231. 11, Soph. *O. C.* 1654. Oaths by Zeus, Gê, and Helios: Usener, 18 f., by Gê and Helios, 330 f. Cf. oath of Demeas *senex*, Ter. *Adelph.* 790 "O caelum, o terra, o maria Neptuni;" of Stasimus *servus*, Pl. *Trin.* 1070 "mare, terra, caelum, di vestram fidem" and of Horace, *Ep.* 17. 30, "O mare et terra." V. *Aen.* 12. 176, Aeneas swears: Esto nunc sol testis et haec mihi Terra vocanti," etc., to which, v. 197, Latinus replies: "terram mare sidera iuro," etc. Ovid, *Trist.* 2. 53, "Per mare, per terras, per tertia numina iuro."

<sup>4</sup> Meinhardt, 66, classes it among oaths by *things*, but see Drexler in Roscher, I 1569 ff.; Welcker, I 327; Ziebarth, 7; Prell.-Rob. 635; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III (1907), 2 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Wilamowitz, ad Eur. *Her.* 858; Ziebarth l.c.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. schol. Arist. *Av.* 194; Suid. s.v. ναὶ μὰ τό; Meinhardt, 66.

sometimes, doubtless, because Gê, the personal goddess, might be expected from the nature of her worship at Athens,<sup>7</sup> to serve his interests in the matter at issue. Here as elsewhere convention and usage doubtless exerted their influence.

In Menander at the very end of the Oxyrynchus fragment of the *Pericciromene*, v. 51, an oath by this goddess occurs, which the English editors excellently restored according to a well-known formula,  $\tilde{\omega}$  Γῆ [καὶ θεοί] (cf. n. 3). Unfortunately we do not know with certainty who speaks this half-line. I believe with Wilamowitz, GGA. (1900), 33, that the speaker cannot be Glycera, as the first editors supposed, for there is no sure example of this oath by the earth-goddess in the mouth of a woman. But as between Polemon and Moschion,<sup>8</sup> we face the dilemma whether to reject the explicit stage-tradition, Πολέμων εἴσεισι, or to think that Pataecus would say  $\tau\tilde{\omega}$  υἱῶ of his son, when none were present save that son and his daughter, Glycera. Very possibly the manuscript note has been misplaced, from its proper position in the middle of the next line. Such a supposition is easier than to assume with Wilamowitz that the editor of the papyrus roll made a blunder and wrote "Polemon" for "Glycera." Or perhaps Polemon starts to go in, but does not enter until he has heard Pataecus' reasons for declining to join in the proposed sacrifice. As Polemon goes in, Moschion who has been eaves-dropping through all the scene and is surprised at the marriage plans his father has suddenly conceived for him,<sup>9</sup> utters the oath, in an aside. This was always an oath of great intensity, either of extreme indignation or of great joy.<sup>10</sup> Kauer was entirely right in declaring that the brother (i.e. Moschion) was the only person who had reasons for giving such strong vent to his feelings; though it is not altogether clear whether his dominant emotion was of pain or of pleasure.

As for the appropriateness of the oath on this occasion, apart from Kretschmar's prepossession that the speaker is Polemon, I can scarcely add anything to his commentary, p. 104:

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Welcker, I 321, Drexler in Roscher, I 1573, Prell.-Rob. 636.

<sup>8</sup> Kauer, WSt. XXVI (1904), 206 f. suggested that the speaker was Pataecus' son; cf. Capps (also Rees, ClPh. V [1910], 296) whose interpretation of this passage I have largely followed.

<sup>9</sup> The theory (Leeu. 76; Schmidt, Herm. XLIV [1909], 444 n. 1; Gerhard, Phil. LXIX [1910], 33) that Moschion has had opportunity to tell his father of his love for Philinus' daughter I consider untenable. There are other examples of a marriage arranged for a young fellow without his knowledge and against his desire, viz. Men. *Georgos*, Ter. *Andr.* 236 ff., *Heaut.* 1056 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Kühnlein, 30. Cf. passages, n. 3.

"Terra enim, dea non solum fertilitatis agrorum sed etiam omnis abundantiae auctrix, nomine *Κουροτρόφος* adpellabatur<sup>11</sup> (cf. Roscher I 1570) ac cum fiebant nuptiae in *προτελείαις* quae vocant implorabantur ut coniuges augeret liberis quam plurimis, cf. Schömann-Lipsius, II 584.<sup>12</sup> Neque est cur non hic quoque, praesertim cum de nuptiis ac re divina facienda modo actum sit, simili notione et simili sententiarum ordine illius deae mentio sit facta."

The simple oath  $\tilde{\omega}$  Γῆ occurs in J. I. 58. The papyrus at this place is so very badly broken that it is useless to conjecture or argue concerning the usage of the oath. We can see, however, that it expresses bewilderment, as in Arist. *Nub.* 364, and as do, on occasion, the other vocative oaths.

## OATHS BY DEMETER.

Pk. 255

οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι

λέγω, μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα, πλὴν ἀπάγξομαι.

*Miles Polemon in despair because Glycera has left him.*

E. 507 'Α. αὐτῆς γάρ, οὐκ ἀλλότριον. X. εἰ γὰρ ὤφελεν.

'Α. [νὴ τὴν]<sup>1</sup> φίλην Δήμητρα.

*Meretrix Habrotonon brings Charisius good news: the child is his wife's, and not a bastard.*

Demeter was worshipped in Attica at two great festivals which were very different in character: as *Θεσμοφόρος*, according to the usual interpretation<sup>2</sup> the goddess of lawful marriage, at the Thesmophoria, a festival to which only married women of good birth were admitted;<sup>3</sup> as *Ἐλευσινία* with her daughter *Κόρη* or *Περσεφόνη* at the Eleusinian mys-

<sup>11</sup> Suid. (cf. Hesych.) s.v. *κουροτρόφος*; *Etym.M.* 529. 50 s.v. *κορεσθῆναι*; Arist. *Thesm.* 300; *Od.* 10. 27; Eur. *Tro.* 566; cf. Prell.-Rob. l.c.; Farnell, III 17.

<sup>12</sup> Procl. in *Tim.* 293 c, cf. Welcker, I 327.

<sup>1</sup> Head., Hense.

<sup>2</sup> Bloch, Roscher, II 1329 f.; Kern, P.-W. IV 2750 f.; cf. Welcker, II 495 f., Prell.-Rob. 777 f., Schöm.-Lip. II 503 f. But Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, III 75-112, perhaps rightly concludes that the Thesmophoria had nothing to do with the ordinances of the state or of human marriage, and that the Two Goddesses were merely goddesses of fertility and vegetation and of the lower world. See p. 27 n. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Arist. *Thesm.* esp. 329 ff. Cf. Prell.-Rob. 778; Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum* (1898), 315 f. If unmarried women were ever admitted to the festival it was probably only as spectators, cf. Luc. *Dial. mer.* 2. 1; Strabo 1. 3. 20; Frazer, *Encycl. Britt.* XXIII<sup>9</sup> (1888), 296; Farnell, III 84. Jane Harrison, *Prologom. Study Gr. Rel.* (1903), 121, 131, takes the opposite view.

teries,<sup>4</sup> to which were admitted the initiate of both sexes and all ages.<sup>5</sup> At the latter place she was honored, not as the goddess of the pious farmer, nor of the most intimate life of women, but as the goddess of human life in its widest aspects (Kern l.c.).

Corresponding to these two forms of the worship of the goddess, the oaths taken in her name may be divided into two classes, those employed by women and those by men.<sup>6</sup> Men swore by Demeter as the goddess of the mysteries, and especial patroness of Athens.<sup>7</sup> An attempt has been made<sup>8</sup> to show that old men more than young men had an especial fondness for this oath, but there is not sufficient evidence to warrant any such differentiation.<sup>9</sup> In Menander there is one masculine oath by Demeter, viz. Pk. 255, on the lips of the soldier Polemon, whom Agnoia, v. 9. calls *νεανίσκος*. Probably it would be fanciful to draw any conclusions from the fact that Polemon is thinking of suicide, a subject in which the goddess of the Eleusinian mysteries might be supposed to take an interest.

Women swear by Demeter alone, only after the time of Aristophanes, and even then rarely.<sup>10</sup> For some obscure reason this oath seems never in the extant literature to have been used by a free-born Athenian woman.<sup>11</sup> One would suppose that it would be used first of all by matrons of respectability, who alone were admitted to the rites of Demeter *Θεσμοφόρος*; and that from them its use would spread to other classes of women. Nor, would it have seemed remarkable, on the other hand, that an Eleusinian initiate, even though a woman, should swear by Demeter, the chief of the Eleusinian deities, as indeed it was the custom of women to swear by the two Eleusinian deities together under the form *νῆ (μὰ) τῶ θεῶ*. However this may be, I suspect that modern

<sup>4</sup> Welcker II, 511 ff., Prell.-Rob. 790 ff., Bloch, 1337 f., Kern, 2736 f., Schöm.-Lip. 387 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Arist. *Eleusin.* (Dind. I 415), Arist. *Ran.* 409-412, Demos. 59. 1351, Theoph. I K., Schöm.-Lip. 403 f., Farnell, III 155.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Welcker, II 525; Meinhardt, 53 f.; Ziebarth, 9, 11.

<sup>7</sup> *πάτριος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ Δημήτηρ* schol. Arist. *Eq.* 698, cf. Meinhardt l.c. Demeter was one of the deities by whom the Heliasts swore, cf. s.v. *Apollo*, n. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Fritzsche ad Arist. *Thesm.* 517, Welcker, 525, Ziebarth, 11.

<sup>9</sup> The only example in Plautus or Terence is *Bacch.* 892, where Ceres is one of the seventeen deities invoked by Chrysalus *servus*.

<sup>10</sup> As follows: *ancilla*, Antiph. 25 K.; *meretrices*, Philipp. 5. 4 K., Luc. *Dial. mer.* 3. 314, Mach. com. ap. Athen. 13. 580 b; *femina procax*, Aesclepiad. *Anth. Pal.* 5. 150; *matrona*, Heron. 1. 69; *lena*, *id.* 1. 86. Cf. Meinhardt, 53 f.; Ziebarth, 11.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Meinhardt l.c. It might be used by a married woman of character, though of low birth, at least, at places other than Athens,—e.g., Cos, cf. Heron. 1. 69.



explanations of the oath, *νῆ (μὰ) τὴν Δήμητρα*, have been warped by the accidental character of the few examples which we have. Women, especially free-born Athenian women, appear so little in the Greek literature of oaths that it is hazardous in this case to argue from purely negative evidence. The possibility should be admitted, in my opinion, that Athenian matrons even of the fifth century may have sworn by Demeter.

Only once in Menander does a woman use this oath, and she is not a matron but a meretrix. In E. 507, Habrotonon swears to Charisius *νῆ τὴν φίλην Δήμητρα*. It is noteworthy that she is speaking on a theme in which the goddess of lawful marriage (?) might well be interested, the legitimacy of Charisius' child; but in view of the general uncertainty of usage,<sup>12</sup> I cannot press this suggestion. For the epithet of Demeter used in this oath, Hense, *BphW.* XXVIII (1908), 414, has noted as parallels Antiph. 25 K. and Philipp. 5; to which might be added Heron. 1. 69, Mach. ap. Athen. 13. 580 b. Cf. the invocation of the goddess, Arist. *Thesm.* 286, *δέσποινα πολυτίμητε Δήμητερ φίλη*; and Eur. *Phoen.* 684-686 *φίλα Δαμάτηρ θεά, πάντων ἀνασσα*. The donkey in the tale of Babrius 129 (Rutherford) grinds the wheat *φίλης Δήμητρος*. *φίλη* was therefore an epithet commonly applied to Demeter. But from the earliest times it was frequently used with the names of other deities also.<sup>13</sup> It implied originally, one would assume, a peculiar mutual relation of long standing protection and trust. Like all such epithets it might, and frequently did, become a mere convention. By Menander's time the phrase *φίλη Δημήτηρ* doubtless was somewhat stereotyped; though it was entirely appropriate as used by Habrotonon.

<sup>12</sup> None other of the passages has to do with legitimate wedlock. In Philipp. 5. 4 K., Meinhardt may have surmised correctly that Demeter is invoked as the goddess of sustenance (cf. schol. ad Arist. *Nub.* 121). So also, perhaps, Heron. 1. 86. Faithfulness in love is suggested: Aesclepiad. l.c., Heron. 1. 69. In Mach. l.c., there is no evident appropriateness in the oath: it is a colorless, though strong, asseverative in the mouth of a woman. So, perhaps, Antiph. 25 K. Luc. l.c. *ὦ Δάματερ* is explained by Meinhardt, 54, as "admirantis adverbium," according to the distinction drawn between *ὦ Δάματερ* and *ὦ Δήμητερ*, proper vocative, by Phot. and Suid. s.v. *Ἡράκλεις*; Eustath. 1385. 53; schol. Arist. *Pl.* 555. But Lobeck, *Phryn.* 640, has shown that there are cases in this class of words where actual usage, according to our manuscripts, at least, did not conform to the rules set down by the grammarians. Perhaps in this passage, where the theme of conversation is fidelity in love, the figure of Demeter, goddess of lawful marriage, is still felt in the oath.

<sup>13</sup> I note in Bruchmann: Athena (esp. *φιλάττη*), Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, Dionysus, Hermes, Eros, etc. *ὦ φίλοι θεοί* is the oath of an unknown speaker 429 K., cf. p. 13.





anes,<sup>4</sup> it was probably a form of oath in common use among Athenians of the lower classes.<sup>5</sup> It does not seem probable that an actor on the stage playing a genre-part would use a form of oath which the character he portrayed would not naturally use in daily life. While the altar and festival of Dionysus might in part suggest the oath by that god, still every such oath should be appropriate in itself, or it would sound artificial or affected in the Athenian ear. Of course, this remark does not apply to the language of the chorus speaking for the poet, who may well call upon the patron deity of the festival to give him victory over his rival poets;<sup>6</sup> but it does apply to the dialogue of the actors.

The oath *μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον* occurs twice in Menander, both times in the mouths of men. The first time is in that quadruple oath of Parmenon S. 94 to which reference is made elsewhere (pp. 17, 19, 22, and 38). Besides Dionysus, who is first(?) in order, Apollo, Zeus Soter, and Asclepius are invoked. As Parmenon seeks to avert a beating, and as Apollo and Asclepius, as well as Zeus Soter, are gods who avert ill (cf. discussion l.c.), it is probable that Dionysus is conceived under similar attributes. There is evidence to show that Dionysus was actually worshipped as savior or liberator, not merely from cares (*λυσιμέριμνος*, *λυσίπινος*), from physical bondage, and from sickness (*ιατρός*, *ὑγιάτης*), but from all ills whatever (*σωτήρ*).<sup>7</sup> So the conclusion drawn from the association of Dionysus with other gods, known to be averters of ill, is made certain: Parmenon swears by Dionysus also, because he can save him if he will.

Perhaps it is by this same Dionysus that the young man Moschion swears in S. 323, where he fears that he will not be successful in deceiving his father. But very possibly, also, Moschion calls upon Dionysus not only to avert the ills he fears, but as the patron of the arts, and especially of the speaking art, to loosen his tongue<sup>8</sup> and make him persuasive.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Meinhardt l.c. for citations. This oath occurs but once in the orators, Aesch. 1. 52 (Kühnlein, 36). It does not occur in Latin comedy.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Arist. *Pax* 267 refers to Dionysus as *οἰκείῳ θεῷ* . . . *τῆς Ἀπτικῆς*.

<sup>6</sup> Arist. *Nub.* 519 with schol.; cf. Meinhardt, 37.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gruppe, Müller's Hdb. V 2. 1432 n. 3: Dionysus Soter, a bronze coin of Maroneia (ca. 400-350 B.C.) (Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der antiken Kunst* II [1860], XXXII 357 = Head, *Historia Numorum* [1887], 217 fig. 160); Lycophr. 206; Nicet. Eugen. *Dros. et Char.* 7. 209; ἀλεξήτηρ, Nonn. *Dionys.* 33. 232, 7. 96 and ἀλεξίκακος, *id.* 7. 176, 29. 90, 32. 118, 45. 52.

<sup>8</sup> Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 613 c, refers to the freedom of speech that comes with wine, — hardly that which Moschion means.



## OATHS BY ZEUS.

E. 138

οὐ γνῶσομ' εἶναι, μὰ Δί', ἐγὼ  
τοῦ νῦν ἀδικοῦντος, τοῦ βοηθοῦντος δὲ καὶ  
ἐπεξιόντος τῷ ἀδικεῖν μέλλοντί σοι.

*Senex* Smicrines awards the foundling to Syracuseus.

J. I. 47

Λα. οὐ Χαιρέα τὸ πρῶτον ἐξεδώκατε  
τὴν παῖδα; Α. μὰ Δία.

*Senex* (Körte) discusses with Laches the marriage of the girl.

Pk. 274

Πολ. ἀλλὰ τί φέρω νῦν εἰς μέσον  
τὸ μέγεθος, ἐμβρόντητος, ὑπὲρ ἄλλων λαλῶν;  
Πατ. μὰ τὸν Δί', οὐδέν.

*Senex* Pataecus encourages Polemon.

249. 4 K.

ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ῥῆμά τι  
ἐφθέγξατ' οὐδὲν ἐμφερές, μὰ τὸν Δία,  
τῷ γνῶθι σαντόν.

Unknown man of Monimus, the Syracusan Cynic.

Pk. 190

Σ. πότερα νομίζετ' οὐκ ἔχειν ἡμᾶς χολήν,  
οὐδ' ἄνδρας εἶναι; Δ. ναί, μὰ Δία, τ[ετρω]βό[λους].<sup>1</sup>

*Servus* Davus reviles Sosias.

Pk. 127

Μ. ὡς ὀκνηρῶς μοι προσέρχει, Δᾶε. Δ. ναί, μὰ τὸν Δία·  
πάνυ γὰρ ἀτόπως.

*Servus* Davus reports to Moschion the failure of his mission.

363. 5 K.

καὶ βάψομαι  
καὶ παρατιλοῦμαι, νῆ Δία, καὶ γενήσομαι  
Κτήσιππος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος.

Unknown man speaking.

G. 34

Φ. τί δ' ἡμῖν, εἰπέ μοι,  
τούτου μέλει; Μ. καλὸν γ' ἂν εἶη, νῆ Δία.

*Matrona* Myrrhina<sup>2</sup> (Kretsch., Kör.) prays for a turn of fortune.

<sup>1</sup> Capps (q.v.) Sud., ναί (Jensen) for μή (Lef. Kör.) removes an asyndeton quite without parallel.

<sup>2</sup> Kaibel, Gönachr. (1898), 157 n. 8, thinking the oath unworthy of a matron, deleted the mark of change of speaker before καλόν. But this colorless oath was used by respectable women, e.g., Arist. *Eccl. passim*, esp. 550 ff. Cf. p. 35.



505 K. νῆ τὸν Δία<sup>5</sup> τὸν μέγιστον ἐκτυφήσομαι.

*Matrona?* (Panegyris or Pamphila? Plaut. *Stich.* 5, 19, 20, cf. Ritschl, *Parerga*, 274 f.)

402. 13 K. εἴτ' ἐστὶ τὸ  
φρύαγμά πως ὑποστατόν; μὰ τὸν<sup>6</sup> Δία  
τὸν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, οὐδαμῶς.

"*Maritus senex*," Gell., *N. Att.* 2. 23. 8 ad h.l.

569 K. Γλυκέρα, τι κλάεις; ὁμνύω σοι τὸν Δία  
τὸν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, φιλτάτῃ,  
ὁμωμοκῶς καὶ πρότερον ἢδη πολλάκις.

*Miles Polemon*(?) soothes his mistress (Capps, cf. p. 14 n. 3).

Pk. 313 μὴ δὴ γένοιτ', ὦ Ζεῦ πολυ[τίμητ']<sup>7</sup>

*Senex Pataecus* still believes in Glycera.

351 K. ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμηθ', οἷόν ἐστ' ἐλπὶς κακόν.

Unknown speaker.

848 K.<sup>8</sup> ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμηθ', ὥς καλαὶ νῶν αἱ γυναῖ.

Unknown man speaking.

S. 95 Δ. συγκρύπτεις τι πρὸς μ' ἤδη πάλαι.

Π. μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον, μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλ[ω], γῶ μὲν οὔ,  
μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτῆρα, μὰ τὸν Ἀ[σκληπιόν].

*Servus Parmenon* terrified by his master Demeas, who threatens to flog him.

E. 142 δεινὴ γ' ἡ κρίσις,

νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτῆρ'.

*Servus Davus* protests against Smicrines' award.

<sup>5</sup> μὰ cod. Monacensis 560, τὸν om. cod. Marcianus 471.

<sup>6</sup> μὰ τὸν added Heringa, *Observ.* (1747), 252 (and Grotius, according to Mein. and Kock, but not in *Excerpta e tragicis et comicis Graecis* [1626], 741, to which Mein. refers).

<sup>7</sup> Lef.

<sup>8</sup> παρὰ μιμηρμνω ms.; Μιμνέρμω Cramer, ad *Anecd. Ox.* I 102. 7; Μεάνδρω Mein.

Pk. 336

πέπονθά τι  
νῇ τὸν Δία τὸ]ν<sup>9</sup> σωτῆρ'.

*Adulescens* Moschion, in an aside (Sud., Capps)<sup>10</sup>.

E. 486

Ζεῦ σῶτερ, εἴπερ ἐστὶ δυνάτον, σῶζέ με.

*Servus* Onesimus fears punishment for his own officiousness.

536. 7 K.

ἀναπνοὴν ἔχει  
“Ζεῦ σῶτερ” εἰπείν “ἀντέχου τῶν σχοινίων.”

*Nautae* in distress.

532. 2 K.

καὶ τοῦτον ἡμᾶς τὸν τρόπον γαμείν ἔδει  
ἅπαντας, ὃ Ζεῦ σῶτερ, ὥς ὠνούμεθα.

*Senex*, who has a marriageable daughter.

54 K.

μαρτύρομαι τὸν φίλιον, ὃ Κράτων, Δία.

Speaker unknown.

The oath by Zeus is one of the oldest in Greek literature. Achilles *Il.* 23. 43 swears οὐ μὰ Ζῆν', ὅστις τε θεῶν ὑπατος καὶ ἄριστος. It is a very solemn oath in the mouth of Telemachus, *Od.* 20. 339.<sup>11</sup> Because he was the chief of the gods and, as Ζεὺς ὄρκιος, the especial guardian of oaths and avenger of perjury,<sup>12</sup> he was probably invoked more frequently than any other god. In the orators<sup>13</sup> and the writers of comedy,<sup>14</sup> who reflect the language of the average Athenian, the simple formulae νῇ (τὸν) Δία, μὰ (τὸν) Δία have quite lost all color as oaths, but serve merely as asseveratives, and sometimes, through their very repetition, as very weak asseveratives,<sup>15</sup>—much as the corresponding oaths in modern vulgar usage have become very weak. This loss of strength is a penalty which all oaths pay for their constant repetition;<sup>16</sup> but no Greek oaths paid the

<sup>9</sup> Crois.

<sup>10</sup> Pataecus, Lef., Kör., Rob.; Glycera, Leeu.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Schröder (1859), 12; *supra* p. 14, and n. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. M. H. E. Meier, *Graeci quanta levitate fidem mutaverint*, index sch. Halle (1830), 4; Kühnlein, 27; Prell.-Rob. 151; Schöm.-Lip. 277; Gruppe, Müller's Hdb. V 2. 1116.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Kühnlein, 51 ff., Rehdantz l.c., Ott, 43 f.

<sup>14</sup> Reisig, *Coni. ad Arist.* II (1816), 256, ad *Vesp.* 254; Meinhardt, 19 f.; Ott, 44.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Schröder (1859), 9 f., 12; Kühnlein, 50; Ott, 11, 21.

<sup>16</sup> On the frequent use of oaths by the Greeks, their frequent violation, and the consequent disrepute which Greek reliability suffered esp. among the Romans, cf. Lasaulx, 200 ff.; H. Heumann; Meier; L. Schmidt, II 3 ff.; Ziebarth, 6; Schöm.-Lip. 282 f.; Dummmler, 5 f.; Stengel, 79 f.; Hirzel, 79 ff. Another influence in the



penalty more dearly than the oath by the greatest of the gods. Only through the addition of some particular epithet, e.g., 'Ολύμπιος, Σωτήρ, ὁ μέγιστος, did the oath gain a certain solemn character (Ziebarth, 7), subject, of course, to the ever-recurring process of weakening.

In the fragments of Menander there are thirty-three oaths by Zeus. Apparently all classes of persons without distinction swore by him:<sup>17</sup>

Men:	<i>senes</i>	8 instances
	<i>servi</i>	9
	<i>militēs</i>	2
	<i>adulescentes</i>	4
	<i>nautae</i>	1
	<i>incerti</i>	4
		—
	Total,	28
Women:	<i>Matronae</i>	2
		—
	Total,	2
Sex uncertain:		3
		—
	Total,	3

As we should expect, the oaths with the accusative of the name of the god, accompanied sometimes by the article, but without any epithet, are the most frequent: *μὰ Δία* (2), *μὰ τὸν Δία* (2), *ναὶ μὰ Δία* (1), *ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία* (1), *νῆ Δία* (10), *νῆ τὸν Δία* (3). In every instance they are simple

weakening of oaths was the growing disbelief in the gods, cf. Heumann, 16 f.; Hirzel, 87 f. However, the traditional reverence for the oath long persisted, cf. Eur. 1030 N.; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I (1896), 70; Greenough, *The Religious Condition of the Greeks at the Time of the New Comedy*, Harv. Stud. X (1899), 141-180, esp. 142 ff. Note S. 96, Demeas' reproof of Parmenon, who has just uttered that terrific oath by Dionysus, Apollo, Zeus Soter and Aesclepius: "Hold on now, don't swear by any of the gods": *παῦ, μηδέν*' (Nic., cf. Hense, BphW. XXIX [1909], 365) *ὄμνν*.

<sup>17</sup> In Plautus and Terence: *servi*: *Amph.* 435, *Bacch.* 892, *Andr.* 732, *Poen.* 869, *Eun.* 946; *adulescentes*: *Men.* 615, 655, 1025, *Capt.* 426, *Men.* 811, *Eun.* 1048 (?), 550, *Heaut.* 690, *Hecyr.* 317, *Eun.* 709; *senes*: *Merc.* 762, *Trin.* 447, *Aul.* 761, *Pseud.* 514, *Phorm.* 807, *Andr.* 464, *Adelph.* 731, 757, *Heaut.* 630, *Phorm.* 816, *Adelph.* 111, 366; *militēs*: *Poen.* 1325; *lenones*: *Adelph.* 196. Also comically, Jupiter by himself, *Amph.* 933.

formulae of negation or affirmation, quite devoid of juratory color. The frequent omission of the article in these oaths  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  (τὸν) Δία, νῆ (τὸν) Δία is further evidence of their weakness, for in Menander, as with few exceptions elsewhere,<sup>18</sup> oaths with  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  and νή, when accompanying the names of gods other than Zeus, never fail to take the article.

Zeus, as the supreme god, is expressly invoked in a formula νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν μέγιστον<sup>19</sup> which occurs twice in Menander: S. 296, in the mouth of the slave Parmenon, and 505 K., in the mouth of a matron (?). This epithet of Zeus is very common in the Greek poets (cf. Bruchmann). In this particular oath it is found in Timocl. 22 K., Philem. 196 K. (Meinhardt, 19), and in the negative form  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  τὸν Δία τὸν μέγιστον in ps. Demos. 48. 2.<sup>20</sup> The vocative ὦ Ζεῦ μέγιστε occurs several times in Xen. *Cyrop.*, viz. 5. 1. 29, 6. 3. 11, 6. 4. 9, 7. 1. 3 (Meinhardt, 18, 22). In all these passages, as in the Menander passages, the oath is a strong one, deriving its sanctity from the greatest of the gods, the especial guardian of oaths. Perhaps it is not entirely fanciful to suggest that Parmenon may have felt at least dimly the power of Zeus as savior from trouble (σωτήρ, cf. Preller-Robert, 151) and giver of freedom (ἐλευθέριος, *ibid.*); while the matron weeping for her absent lord may have felt it appropriate to call upon the deliverer from perils by sea (σωτήρ) and the guardian of married life (ζύγιος, γαμήλιος, τέλειος, cf. Preller-Robert, 147).

The oath by Zeus "the Olympian,"<sup>21</sup> coupled with Athena, occurs in two passages, 402. 13 K., 569, which I have already discussed, s.v. Athena (cf. p. 15). In the first it is used by the unnamed old man (in the *Plocium*) and in the second instance by a lover (probably Polemon) to his mistress. This same oath is used by a parasite in Alex. 231 K. Strepsiades, Arist. *Nub.* 817, makes fun of Pheidippides for swearing by this god (Athena's name omitted) (Meinhardt, 22). The genitive πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦλυμπίου occurs in Arist. *Av.* 130 (*ibid.*). The ora-

<sup>18</sup> Meinhardt, 14, notes as exceptions:  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  θεός,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  θεάς Pl. *Conv.* 219 c:  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  γῆν,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  παγίδας,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  νεφέλας,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  δίκτυα Arist. *Av.* 194. Add *ναὶ* Δήμητρα Heron. 1. 86, and perhaps the comic oaths, Antiph. 296 = Timocl. 38,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  γῆν,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  κρήνας,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  ποταμούς,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  νάματα.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Prell.-Rob. 108, n. 3, 868; Usenér, *Götternamen* (1896), 343.

<sup>20</sup> That this oath occurs only here in Demosthenes and the Ten Orators confirms the suspicion already cast on the oration by Blass, *Die Att. Beredsamkeit*, III (1880), 499 (Kühnlein, 33 f., 74, cf. 77).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Prell.-Rob. 121 f.; Gruppe, *passim* (cf. index 1895), esp. 32, 1104 n. 1. The epithet is frequent in the poets, cf. Bruchmann; often with the name of the god omitted but clearly referring to Zeus (cf. Usenér, *Götternamen*, 217 f.). See also Pl. *Rep.* 583 b, *Legg.* 950 e (Meinhardt, 22).

tors swear by the god of Olympus: Aesch. 1. 55, 1. 76, 1. 81 (?), 3. 255; Demos. 24. 121 (Kühnlein, 64 ff.). It is clear that the oath was frequently used by Athenians. When Zeus Olympius was coupled, as in Menander and Alexis, with Athena (Polias), the oath had peculiar sanctity, due, as I have already observed (l.c.), to the honor which the two divinities received at Athens.<sup>22</sup> There seems to be no instance of its use by women.

ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμητε is a form of oath that occurs thrice in Menander: Pk. 313, spoken by the old man Pataceus, as he calls upon heaven to avert a suggested evil; 351 K. ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμηθ', οἷόν ἐστ' ἔλπις κακόν, by an unknown speaker; 848, ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμηθ', ὡς καλαὶ νῶν αἱ γυναῖ by an unknown man,—both in exclamations of wonder. R. Förster<sup>23</sup> recognized this last passage as imitative of Arist. *Eq.* 1390: ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμηθ', ὡς καλαί. One might compare also, *Av.* 667: ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμηθ', ὡς καλὸν τούρνιθιον, ὡς δ' ἀπαλόν, ὡς δὲ λευκόν. And with 351, compare Arist. 319 K.:

ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμηθ', οἷον ἐνέπνευσ' ὁ μιὰρὸς  
φάσκωλος κτλ.

This oath is also an exclamation of surprise in Pherecr. 73 K. and Eubul. 117. It is clear from these examples<sup>24</sup> that it is rather an exclamation of wonder, surprise, or indignation than an oath proper. This is only what might be anticipated when one remembers the well-known exclamatory character of the simple oath ὦ Ζεῦ<sup>25</sup>: Arist. 67 K., Philet. 5, Pl. *Conv.* 222 e, *Euthyd.* 273 e, 294 a, Luc. *Dial. mort.* 1. 369; and the more elaborate ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ: Arist. *Nub.* 2, 153, *Vesp.* 625, *Av.* 223, *Ran.* 1278, Pl. 1095. As for the epithet πολυτίμητε, it is not peculiar to Zeus,<sup>26</sup> but may be applied to any of the gods or all of them put together, cf. p. 12. It is a term of honor, rather than a descriptive epithet.

Zeus was also worshipped at Athens as Savior, rescuer from trouble, (σωτήρ).<sup>27</sup> Oaths by this god are numerous in the comic poets from Aris-

<sup>22</sup> Note the surprise of Strepsiades, Arist. *Nub.* 366.

<sup>23</sup> Herm. XII (1877), 210. Cf. Hense, BphW. XXIX (1909), 355; Mein. I 111, 358, II 576. But many instances of such presumed imitation, e.g., Men. 848 K. = Arist. *Eq.* 1390, are probably mere coincidences due to the reproduction of favorite forms of the vulgar speech.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Meinhardt, 18, Bruchmann. The vocative, *Orphic Hymn* 15. 1, is an invocation, not an oath.

<sup>25</sup> Schol. Arist. *Pl.* 555, cf. Meinhardt, 17 f.

<sup>26</sup> Not mentioned as an epithet of Zeus in the exhaustive indices of Welcker, Prell.-Rob. or Gruppe.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Welcker, II 183 f.; Prell.-Rob. 151; Gruppe, 1108 n. 3, and *passim* (cf. index).





much as Zeus Eleutherios and Zeus Soter were sometimes identified.<sup>33</sup> In all cases the oath by this god seems to have been a very strong one. We must assume, therefore, that the father, in 532. 2 K. worried as to how he may best marry off his daughter, swears ᾧ Ζεῦ σῶτερ, in a similarly earnest mood.

Ζεὺς φίλιος, the god of friendship,<sup>34</sup> is formally invoked as a witness of the truth of the unknown speaker's words in 54 K.:

μαρτύρομαι τὸν φίλιον, ᾧ Κράτων, Δία.

This god is frequently invoked, especially in the form πρὸς φίλιον by the disputants in the Platonic dialogues, usually in an appeal for a fair answer to a question. See also, without the name of the god, Pherec. 96 K. νῆ τὸν φίλιον, where the comic poet asks the favor of his judges; and Arist. *Ach.* 730, καὶ τὸν φίλιον, where the Megarian, who has long desired a friendly market at Athens, is the speaker. In our passage from Menander, 54 K. we know nothing unfortunately of the relation of Crato and his friend, so that no conclusions can be drawn as to the exact usage of the oath in that passage. The verb μαρτύρομαι gives the oath a formal character suitable to a debate or legal argument. Though an oath, the idea of testimony is still present.<sup>35</sup> Such invocation of the gods as witnesses to confirm an oath was customary from the earliest times, cf. *Il.* 3. 276 ff. 7. 76.

#### OATHS BY HELIOS.

E. 308

Α. ἄ δ' ἂν λέγῃ

προσομολογήσω, τοῦ διαμαρτεῖν μηδὲ ἐν

προτέρα λέγουσ'. Ο. ὑπέρευγε, νῆ τὸν "Ἡλιον.

*Servus* Onesimus is entranced with Habrotonon's clever scheme.

S. 108

στίξω σε, νῆ τὸν "Ἡλιον.

*Senex* Demeas threatens *Parmenon*.

<sup>33</sup> Schol. Pl. *Eryx* 392 a; cf. Meinhardt, 22.

<sup>34</sup> Phot. Suid. s.v. φίλιος (Ζεὺς) quoting this passage and Pherec. 96 K. (νῆ τὸν φίλιον, name of the god omitted); schol. Pl. *Phaedr.* 234 e; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 1. 40. Cf. Welcker, II 202 f.; Prell.-Rob. 148; Gruppe, *passim*, esp. 1116 n. 6; Jane Harrison, *Prolog. Study Gr. Relig.* (1903), 355 ff.; and for uses of the epithet, Bruchmann, Meinhardt 22.

<sup>35</sup> So Schröder (1859), 9, citing many examples of this and similar usage. Cf. Sittl. 140 n. 9; Hirzel, 23 n. 1, 25 ff.

E. 406

νῆ τ]ὸν<sup>1</sup> "Ηλιον.

Speaker uncertain.

J. I. 23

νῆ τὸν "Ηλιον.

Speaker uncertain.

328 K.

ὁμνυμί σοι τὸν "Ηλιον

ἣ μὴν ἀποίσειν σοι γραφὴν κακώσεως.

*Matrona* threatens to sue *Simulus* for divorce on grounds of cruelty.

Kl. 45

ὁμνύω τὸν "Ηλιον<sup>2</sup>

εἰ μὴ φέρων ὁ παῖς ὀπισθ' ἐβάδιζέ μου

τὰ Θάσια καὶ τις ἦν ὑπόνοια κραιπάλης,

ἐβόων ἂν εὐθὺς παρακολουθῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ<sup>3</sup>.*Adulescens* Phidias to his slave.

Helios, the sun-god, was held in especial reverence from the earliest times as the all-seeing god, the spy of gods and men, before whom no sin could be kept secret.<sup>2</sup> In Homer,<sup>3</sup> on the most solemn occasions both gods and men called him to witness their veracity and fidelity. Throughout Greek literature and frequently in the inscriptions he is invoked,<sup>4</sup> but it would seem rather as a witness than as an avenger of perjury, for he does

<sup>1</sup> Lef.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Il.* 3. 277, *Od.* 11. 109, 12. 323; *Hom. H. in Cer.* 62; *Herodot.* 7. 37; *Aesch. Ag.* 632, *Prom.* 91, *Cho.* 985; *Soph. O. C.* 869, *Elec.* 825, *Trach.* 101; *Virg. Aen.* 4. 607; *Ovid Met.* 4. 172, 227. Cf. Rapp, in *Roscher*, I 2020; *Preller-Robert* 433; *Hirzel*, p. 24 n. 0, 40 n. 2; *Farnell, Cults of the Greek States* V (1909), 418.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* 19. 259, 3. 277; *H. in Merc.* 381; cf. *Il.* 3. 103 f. 19. 197. See *Ziebarth*, 7; *Wilamowitz*, ad *Eurip. Her.* 858; *supra* p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Aesch. Ag.* 1323, *Prom.* 91, *Cho.* 985; *Apollon. Arg.* 4. 229, 1017; *Julianus Epist.* 38, p. 536. 2 *Hertl.* Cf. *Virg. Aen.* 4. 607, 12. 176; *BCH.* VI (1882), 501; *Rapp*, l.c.; *Preller-Robert*, l.c.; *Lasaulx*, n. 14. For oaths by Zeus, Gê, and Helios see *Usener*, 18 f; by Gê and Helios, and Zeus and Helios, *id.* 330 f.; cf. also *Heliodor.* 231. 10. The oath by Zeus, Demeter, and Helios was peculiar to Athens (*Bekker's Anecd. Gr.* 443. 30, cf. *Usener*, 19). *Men.* 609 K. gives a rationalistic, though rather inane (*Wilamowitz* l.c.) explanation of the grounds for sun-worship:

"Ηλιε, σὲ γὰρ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν πρῶτον θεῶν,  
δι' ὃν θεωρεῖν ἔστι τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς.

This has been used as an evidence of materialism and scepticism by *Wendler, Mediae ac recentioris comoediae Atticae poetae quid de diis senserint*, diss. *Görlitz* (1870), 45. See also *Men.* 537 K., for a report of the philosophy of *Epicharmus* who was said to have regarded the sun as a god. For the sun as the first of the gods, cf. *Soph. O. T.* 660, and a hymn found in *Egypt CIG* 3883 l.

not seem to have been a powerful god, being impotent to punish the sacrilegious, cf. *Od.* 12. 374 ff. And yet like most of the gods by whom men swore, Helios could lend them aid in time of trouble and hence sometimes passed under the epithets σωτήρ<sup>5</sup> and ἐλευθέριος.<sup>6</sup>

The oath νῆ (μὰ) τὸν Ἥλιον seems never to have been a favorite of the vulgar speech.<sup>7</sup> There is no instance of its use before the middle of the fourth century, the first example, perhaps, being ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ Ἄλιον, a formal oath taken during Alexander's lifetime by the people of Lesbos, preserved on an inscription at Eressus, cf. Conze, *Reise auf Lesbos* (1865), t. 12 B. 20. The first examples in the oaths of private life seem to be in the Middle Comedy. νῆ τὸν Ἥλιον occurs in Alexis 246. 1 K., Arched. 3. 4 K.; and then in Menander three times: E. 308, S. 108, and E. 406 (doubtful). To these are to be added the more formal oaths with ὀμνυμι (ὀμνύω), 328 K., Kl. 45. Meinhardt, 66, 72, in discussing such instances of the oath as were then known to him (the "new" Menander has more than doubled the number), found himself much perplexed, and at last compelled to resort to a rather unsatisfactory makeshift: men swore by the sun, he suggests, because it was the first *thing* that occurred to them. But in view of the more formal use of the oath in Homer, in tragedy, and in inscriptions, I believe that even in vulgar usage it was not chosen at random, but that the choice had at least some foundation in the religious beliefs of the people. In most instances, the chief point of the invocation lay in the appeal to a god who could witness the truth of the speaker's words. Such is the character of the oath in 328 K., where the wife threatens in a most formal manner<sup>8</sup> to obtain a divorce from her husband, and in Kl. 45, where Phidias is relating an incident to his slave. In S. 108, the oath has similar confirmatory power, though indignation is the speaker's dominant mood. To Parmenon's appeal for mercy Demeas only replies by calling the Sun to witness that his purpose has not changed: στίξω σε, νῆ τὸν Ἥλιον. The nature of the oath in E. 308 is not so clear. The slave Onesimus is delighted with Habrotonon's plan whereby she hopes to learn if Charisius is the father of Pamphila's child. ὑπέρευγε, νῆ τὸν Ἥλιον, he exclaims in approval. Perhaps the emphasis of the oath lies in the suggestion that the Sun is the god who will bring the mystery to light. Still the use of the oath in this passage seems to me to

<sup>5</sup> Paus. 8. 31. 4; CIG 4699. 25 f.; cf. *Orph. II.* 8. 17, Aesch. *Suppl.* 213, Rapp, l.c.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. 2. 31. 8; cf. Rapp, l.c., Gruppe, 191, n. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Sol is one of the 17 divinities invoked by Chrysalus *servus*, Pl. *Bacch.* 895.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. s.v. *Athena*, n. 13.

indicate a weakening of its original force. It may be suggested also that Onesimus may be thinking of Ἥλιος Σωτήρ or Ἐλευθέριος who is to get him out of the scrape into which his own περιεργία has brought him. Nothing can be affirmed as to E. 406 and J. I. 23, in the fragmentary condition of the text.

It is to be noted that all classes of persons use this oath: *matrona*, *senex*, *iuuenis*, and *servus*.

## OATHS BY HERACLES.

H. 41

Γ. τί

πράττεις ὑπὲρ σαντοῦ; Δ. λάθρα μὲν, Ἡράκλεις,  
οὐδ' ἐγκεχέρηκ', ἀλλὰ τῷ μῶ δεσπότη  
εἶρηχ'

*Servus* Davus tells of the course of his romance.

E. 315

Α. πρὸ τούτου δ' ἔνδον αὐτὸ βούλομαι

λαβοῦσα κλαῦσαι καὶ φιλῆσαι καὶ πόθεν  
ἔλαβεν ἐρωτᾶν τῇν ἔχουσαν. Ο. Ἡράκλεις.

*Servus* Onesimus admires Habrotonon's cleverness.

E. 542

τό θ' ἄρπασμ', Ἡράκλεις,

θαυμαστὸν οἶον.

*Servus* Onesimus mocks at Smicrines (Leeu., Capps).<sup>1</sup>

Pk. 162

Μ. ὁμολογῶ νικᾶν σε. (exit) Δ. μικροῦ γ'—Ἡράκλεις. καὶ νῦν τρέμων  
αὐτός εἰμ'.

*Servus* Davus congratulates himself on his narrow escape out of a dilemma.

S. 145

Ἡράκλεις, τί τοῦτο, παῖ;

μαινόμενος εἰσδεδράμηκεν εἴσω τις γέρων.

*Coquus* is amazed at Demeas' wild actions.

S. 190

ἀλλ', Ἡράκλεις, τί τοῦτο; πρόσθε τῶν θυρῶν  
ἔστηκε Χρυσίς ἥδε κλάουσ'; οὐ μὲν οὖν  
ἄλλη.

*Senex* Niceratus is surprised to see Chrysis in such a plight.

<sup>1</sup> Smicrines, Bod., Leo, Wil. followed by Rob., Kör., Sud.



S. 207

Ἡράκλεις,

ἡλίκον κέκραγε.

*Senex* Demeas exclaims at the outcry in Niceratus' house.

E. 146

ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ἃ πέπονθα.

E. 155

ἁδίκου πράγματος,

ὦ Ἡράκλεις. οὐ γέγονε δεινότερα κρίσις.

*Servus* Davus is indignant at Smicrines' award and Syrisus' insistent demands.<sup>2</sup>

S. 193

X. ἐκβέβληκέ με

ὁ φίλος ὁ χρηστός σου· τί γὰρ ἄλλ'; N. ὦ Ἡράκλεις.

τίς; Δημέας;

*Senex* Niceratus is astonished at Demeas' treatment of Chrysis.

893 K.

ἀλλ' Ἡράκλειδες<sup>3</sup> καὶ θεοί.

Unknown speaker.

The oaths by the valiant hero-god, Heracles, have been ably treated by previous writers,<sup>4</sup> and I need only summarize briefly their conclusions: Though the cult of Heracles is supposed to have had its origin among the Dorians, it became established at Athens at a very early time.<sup>5</sup> Men naturally invoked him, the performer of mighty deeds, when they despaired of being able to save themselves.<sup>6</sup> As an averter of evil, several appropriate epithets were applied to him: ἀποτρόπαιος,<sup>7</sup> ἀλεξίκακος,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps E. 146 Syrisus has hit Davus with a stick, so that the exclamation is one of pain. Cf. Arnim, *ZöGym.* LVIII (1907), 1074.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Stephanus, *Thes.*; Welcker, II 767 f., 785 f., 791 f.; Kühnlein, 30, 59 f.; Meinhardt, 38 ff.; Ziebarth, 9, 12; Wilamowitz, *Eur. Her.* I<sup>2</sup>, 36 f.; Gruppe, 453 f.; Dürrbach, in *Daremb.-Sagl.* III 111; Capps, ad H. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Arist. *Ran.* 501; Hesych. s.v. ἐκ Μελῖτης μαστιγίας, s.v. Μήλων Ἡρακλῆς; Pausan. 1. 19. 3; Zenob. 5. 22; IG. II 57. 8 etc.; cf. E. Curtius, *Stadtgesch. v. Ath.* (1891), 121 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Pindar *N.* 7. 95; Aristides 5, p. 59 Dind.; Hesych. s.v. Ἡρακλᾶν; and Suid. s.v. Ἡράκλεις.

<sup>7</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Apol.* 4. 10, 8. 7. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Hesych. s.v. ἐκ Μελῖτης μαστιγίας; Hellanicus fr. 138; Zenob. 5. 22; Aristides 5, p. 60 Dind.; Clemens Alex. *Protr.* 2. 23; schol. Arist. *Ran.* 298; schol. Arist. *Pax* 422; Arist. *Nub.* 1372 with schol. (cf. Welcker, II 791 n. 159, and *Pax* 422); Lactant. *Instit.* 5. 3. 14; CIG 5989. For variant forms, cf. CIG 5990; BCH (1882), 342; BCH (1891), 671; IG. VII 3416 etc., also, citations in Meinhardt. It chances

καλλινικος,<sup>9</sup> and σωτήρ.<sup>10</sup> In this aspect, doubtless, he was invoked in formal oaths of early times, but of these we have few examples.<sup>11</sup> The great majority of our examples from the time of Aristophanes on are of the two types 'Ηράκλεις and ᾧ 'Ηράκλεις.<sup>12</sup> These formulae, the ancient commentators<sup>13</sup> tell us, are to be carefully distinguished from the true vocative form 'Ηρακλες, and are to be understood, not as invocations or oaths proper, but as very strong exclamations (ἐπίφθεγμα θαυμαστικόν) of wonder, joy, amazement, indignation, or pain. The figure of the god has largely vanished. Still, it has left a stronger impress upon the oath, than in the case of the other common oaths, e.g., νῆ Δία or Ἀπολλων.

Turning to Menander, we are not surprised to find that the only forms of oaths by the son of Alcmena are these two exclamatory formulae. 'Ηράκλεις alone occurs seven times: H. 41, E. 315, E. 542, Pk. 162, S. 145, S. 190, S. 207. The longer formula ᾧ 'Ηράκλεις is found three times: E. 146, E. 155, S. 193, as an expression of pain or indignation. Onesimus, E. 315, exclaims 'Ηράκλεις in admiration of Habrotonon's cleverness. E. 542, and Pk. 162, the tone is still of admiration, but ironical rather than sincere. In the three instances in the *Samia* (145, 190, 207) it is preëminently an exclamation of surprise, in the first case, at least, intermingled with terror. Pk. 162, Davus exclaims under his breath: "A close call that, by Heracles,"—terror still fills his being,—"I am all dried up with fear." The appropriateness of the oath is evident. In H. 41 it seems to be no more than an emphatic μὰ Δία, but there was doubtless surprise in Davus' voice, to think that Getas should have any doubt as to his

that the epithet is not definitely applied to him in Aristophanes, but Meinhardt was plainly wrong in contending that it was not applied to him until the time of Lucian, for it is found in Hellanicus l.c., a writer of the fifth century B.C.

<sup>9</sup> Diog. L. 6. 50; Aristid. 5, pp. 60, 62, Dind.; Theodoretus *Affect. cur.* 6, p. 155 Räder; Clemens Alex. *Strom.* 7. 4. 843; Dio Cassius, p. 225 Mai; CIL IV 733.

<sup>10</sup> Dio Chrysost. *Or.* 1. *fin.*; Aristides 5, p. 62 Dind.; coins of Thasos (Head, *H. N.* 229), and of Thrace (*ibid.* 243). In Hesiod, *Shield of Heracles* 29, he is called ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρ.

<sup>11</sup> First used by Nestor according to Philostr. *Heroic.*, 303 K.; cf. Meinhardt, 40.

<sup>12</sup> For various forms of the oath in the orators cf. Kühnlein, l.c., and in the writers of dialogue, Meinhardt, l.c. Cf. Ziebarth, 12, for νῆ τὸν 'Ηρακλέα on a vase in Klein, *Die griech. Vasen mit Meistersignatur* (1887), 133. 18.

<sup>13</sup> Phot., Suid., Etym. mag. s.v. 'Ηράκλεις; schol. Dem. 9. 31; schol. Arist. *Pl.* 555; schol. Pl. *Rep.* 509 c; Herodian *περὶ μὲν.* λ., p. 47. 2; Liban. *Epist.* 285, p. 127; Pl. *Euthyd.* 303 a, with schol.; Choerobos. 1. 147. For violations of the rules set up by these grammarians, cf. Lobeck, *Phryn.* 640.

course of action! The three instances of the longer formula all seem to express indignant surprise.

Only men swear by Heracles<sup>14</sup>; in Menander ten instances: *servi*, six times; *senes*, thrice; *coquus*, once.

In 893 K. on the authority of Suidas, Photius, *Etym. m.* (Miller, p. 151) s.v. 'Ηράκλεις, we have a most interesting oath. Were we sure of the manuscript tradition, ἀλλ' 'Ηρακλεῖδαι καὶ θεοί, we might with Welcker II 767 f. draw some valuable conclusions as to the place the cult of the Heraclidae may have had at Athens, and be able to place this with other examples of oaths by heroes and tutelar divinities.<sup>15</sup> But suspicion is cast on the tradition for several reasons. In the first place, there is no other evidence, so far as I am aware,<sup>16</sup> of the cult of the Heraclidae at Athens. The worship of Heracles was firmly established; but there appears to be no trace of the worship of the semi-mythical heroes, his reputed descendants, who are said to have taken refuge in Attica on more than one occasion.

The lexicographers who cite the oath are discussing the exclamatory form 'Ηράκλεις and distinguishing it from the two vocatives: the poetic 'Ηράκλεες and the prosaic 'Ηρακλες. Parallels are given and then the inept phrase: ἐπικαλοῦνται δὲ καὶ 'Ηρακλείδας ὁμοίως, with a citation of our oath as from Menander. The verse is intended as a further illustration of vocative forms of the name of Heracles, but it does not illustrate. Meineke, IV, 301 f. inferred from Eustathius 1593. 14, Cramer *Anecd. Ox.* III. 390,<sup>17</sup> that the longer form was occasionally a comic variant of the shorter. So he restored the line ἀλλ' 'Ηράκλειδες καὶ θεοί. This reading illustrates better the point the lexicographers are trying to

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Ziebarth, 12. So also at Rome, cf. Aul. Gell. 11. 6; Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 12. 28; Charisius p. 198 K. Hubrich, *De diis Plautinis Terentianisque*, diss. Königsberg (1883), 125, noted that the mss. of Plautus assign the oath 645 times to men, and only six times to women. In the latter passages he rightly assumed the necessity of emendation or of different assignment of rôles. In these six passages the latest editor, Lindsay (1903), follows the mss. only in *Cist.* 52, and then with hesitation. Cf. Peter, Roscher, I 2949 f.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Thuc. 2. 71. 4, 74. 2, 4. 87. 2; Dinarch. 1. 64; Arch. Zeit. XIII (1855), 58; Deneken, Roscher, I 2502 f.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Deneken s.v. *Heros*, in Roscher, I; Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte v. Athen.*

<sup>17</sup> The argument based on a supposed identification of Heracles and Heraclides in Theocr. 17. 26, Meineke has since (ed. Theocr. [1856], ad l.) retracted. Choerob. 1. 147 cites the form 'Ηράκλειδες (Jacobs ap. Mein. V CCLXXXVI), cf. also Phot. s.v. 'Ηρακλείδην.

make, and does no violence to our knowledge of Attica religion. I am convinced that it is the true reading.<sup>18</sup>

Unfortunately we know nothing of the context of the verse. We do know, however, that Heracles was a favorite theme for comic jest. Menander was not averse to making jest at the expense of the greater gods, even of Zeus himself; cf. S. 245 ff. It is not difficult therefore, to assume that one of his characters uses this oath, as the commentator says, *παιγνίου χάριν*. The comic effect is strengthened by the supplementary invocation of the gods collectively under the frequent sweeping phrase *καὶ θεοί* (cf. p. 7 f.). It is possible, also, that metrical considerations influenced the poet in the choice of the form, since ἀλλ' Ἡράκλεις καὶ θεοί could not stand in an iambic trimeter.

#### OATHS BY HEPHAESTUS.

S. 207                    ἐμὲ γὰρ ὑπονοεῖν τοιαῦτα τὸν μιὰρὸν ἐχρῆν, ἐμέ;  
νῇ τὸν Ἥφαιστον, δικαίως ἀποθάνοιμ' ἄν.

*Senex* Demeas is humiliated at his unjust suspicion of Moschion and Chrysis.

Aeschylus *Eum.* 13, calls the Athenians *παῖδες Ἥφαιστον*, in allusion to their descent from Erichthonius, the fabled son of the fire-god. On the question whether Athena was the natural or the foster mother of Erichthonius the mythographers were not in agreement; but that Hephaestus and Athena were closely linked together in their protection of Athens there was no disagreement. In the cult of the great city of the arts these two divine patrons of the arts were held in close union and high esteem.<sup>1</sup> Hephaestus' place, however, remained a minor one (Rapp, *Roscher* I 2067). He seemed to have little independent power. He was over-shadowed by Athena, and though one of "the twelve gods," he was one of the least. Perhaps it is for this reason that his name occurs so rarely in oaths. The oath *μὰ τὸν Ἥφαιστον* occurs in Ameipsias 19 K.,

<sup>18</sup> So Blaydes, comparing Arist. *Pl.* 1 ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί. For other parallels cf. Meinhardt, 67 f., Pk. 448 ὦ Γῆ καὶ θεοί. Kock's ὦ Ἡράκλεις τε καὶ θεοί does not commend itself: 1. It is certainly not the text which the lexicographers had. 2. Parallels are lacking of such a use of the conjunctions in an oath.

<sup>1</sup> For the story of the birth of Erichthonius, the relation of Athena and Hephaestus, and the worship of the latter god at Athens, see evidence cited by: Welcker, I 662, II 689; Rapp in *Roscher*, I 2069, 2073 f.; Prell.-Rob. 198, and n. 2; Schöm.-Lip. II 543 ff.



speaker unknown; apparently the first occurrence of the oath.<sup>2</sup> The only other instance so far as I have been able to find is in Menander, S. 207, under the formula *νῆ τὸν Ἡφαιστον*, where the aged Demeas repents his harsh treatment of Moschion and Chrysis. How is the oath to be explained? Meinhardt, 49, thought that in the first passage there might be an allusion to *καλλιτράπεζος* which occurs in the context. But it is hard to see what especial interest the metal-working god would have in the "setting of a fine table," for such, I take it, is the implication of the word. Certainly in the Menander passage there is no reason why the fire-god, as such, should be invoked. Lacking other evidence, I think the oath is to be explained as the invocation of a patron god of Athens. Any Athenian might naturally swear by him, but comparatively few did so because of his inferior position among the gods. On this ground perhaps may be explained the fact that in all Greek literature there appear to be only two instances of this oath. If one may judge from these two instances, it was an oath favored by men rather than by women.

## OATHS BY POSEIDON.

S. 148                      *νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, μαίνεθ', ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ.*

*Coquus* astonished at Demeas' behavior.

Pk. 268                      Πολ.    *θεώρησον, Πάταικε, πρὸς θεῶν.*  
    *μᾶλλον μ' ἐλέησεις.*    Πατ.    *ὦ Πόσειδ[ον].*<sup>1</sup>

*Senex* Pataecus expresses, in an aside, his amusement at Polemon's proposal.

The story of Poseidon's struggle with Athena for the possession of Attica is one of the best known in all Greek mythology.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps because of his reputed defeat in that contest his cult never attained the prestige in Athens that might reasonably have been expected in view of the maritime prominence of the Athenians, at least in historical times. However, Poseidon was one of the especial patrons of the Athenians. Hence they invoked him in oaths, in many instances, apparently for no

<sup>2</sup> Ἡφαιστε Eur. *Troiad.* 343, *Cycl.* 599, is a direct prayer, not an oath. The oath is not found in Latin comedy, but see Pl. *Bacch.* 255.

<sup>1</sup> Körte.

<sup>2</sup> On Poseidon, his worship at Athens, his contest with Athena, etc., cf. Welcker, I 637, II 676, 680 f.; Prell.-Rob. 202 ff., 577 f.; Neil ad Arist. *Eq.* (1901), 551.

other reason than that he was their protecting deity.<sup>3</sup> Pausanias 7. 21 7 f. tells us that the three chief epithets applied to him were *πελάγιος*, *ἀσφάλιος*,<sup>5</sup> and *ἵππιος*.<sup>6</sup> In the first aspect he was lord of the power and the wonders of the sea. In the second aspect, he was worshipped as the patron of those that brave the perils of the sea and of the earthquake. In the last, he was the patron of all lovers of horses. Hence Menelaus swears by him before the horse-race, *Il.* 13. 584, the first recorded oath by Poseidon. Arist. *Pl.* 1050, the young man overwhelmed by the hags utters with indignation the oath: ὦ Ποντοπόσειδον καὶ θεοὶ πρεσβυτικοί. This passage would seem to indicate that the aged were considered Poseidon's especial wards. The scholiast suggests that this was due to Poseidon's place among the older generation of the gods. In any event, the oath by Poseidon was an evident favorite with old men rather than with young.<sup>7</sup> Young men swore by him only for especial reasons; but with old men the oath was almost a common-place. Women never swore by Poseidon.

In Menander there are two<sup>8</sup> instances of this oath, all spoken by men. In S. 148 the cook as he sees the violence of Demeas' behavior, exclaims, νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, "I believe he's mad." The appropriateness of the oath becomes evident when we remember that men of violence, for example, Cyclops and the Laestrygonians, were called "sons of Poseidon," doubtless in view of the violence of the sea.<sup>9</sup> In a similar mood of excitement the speaker in Pk. 268 exclaims ὦ Πόσειδον. Like Ἀπολλων (cf. p. 18), ὦ Ἡράκλεις (cf. p. 44), ὦ Ζεῦ (cf. p. 37), ὦ

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. 1. 73 (Cf. Kühnlein, 29). Cf. the Heliastic oath as given by Demos. 24. 151 (cf. s.v. *Apollo* n. 9, with bibl.); also many of the oaths cited by Meinhardt, 23 ff.; Lasaulx, n. 14; also IG. I Suppl. 584 c. According to Neil i.e. the oath by Poseidon was a mark of an aristocrat.

<sup>4</sup> Citations of epithets denoting his sea-power in Gruppe, 1144, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Arist. *Ach.* 682 with schol.; schol. Arist. *Ach.* 510; Aristid. 3 p. 29 Dind.; Apian *B. Civ.* 5. 98, etc. See citations in Gruppe, 1157, nn. 5-8; Wieseler, *GöNachr.* (1874), 153-160; Prell.-Rob. 582. The epithet *σωτήρ*: used e.g. by the Greeks at Artemisium, Herod. 7. 192; cf. Gruppe, 1158 n. 4; Welcker, II 675.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., Aesch. *Sept.* 130; Arist. *Eq.* 551 f., *Nub.* 83 f., etc., citations in Gruppe, 1156, n. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Meinhardt, 23 ff.; Ziebarth, 10 f. and n. 3. Examples of state oaths in Usener, 20 ff.

<sup>8</sup> H. 51, Jensen reads *ἀνότηρον*, where Crois. *et al.* restored *ἄλις νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ*.

<sup>9</sup> Cornutus 22. Cf. Plaut. *Mil. Gl.* 15; Lucilius *Sat.* 1. 1 (ap. Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 1. 23); Aul. Gell. 15. 21; Welcker, II 678.



Pk. 221, is a form that does not occur elsewhere in the extant literature. It was known, however, to the early scholars: Philo, *De special. legg.* 2. 1. 4 ed. Cohn: Εἰώθασι γὰρ ἀναφθεγξάμενοι τοσοῦτον μόνον “νῆ τόν” ἢ “μὰ τόν,” μὴδὲν προσπααραλαβόντες, ἐμφάσει τῆς ἀποκοπῆς τρανοῦν ὅρκον οὐ γενόμενον. Eustathius, 1450. 38 ff., esp. οὕτω διαφέρει κατὰ Αἴλιον Διονύσιον, καὶ τὰ ὀρκωματικά ἐπιρρήματα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ “νῆ τόν,” καὶ “ναὶ μὰ τόν” κατωμοτικά φασιν. Suidas s.v. νῆ τὴν ἱερὰν κεφαλὴν: τὸ “νῆ” κατωμοτικόν ἐστὶ ἐπίρρημα, τουτέστι, μεθ’ ὅρκου βεβαιωτικόν· ὥσπερ τὸ “μὰ” ἀπωμοτικόν, μεθ’ ὅρκου ἀρνητικόν. “Νῆ τόν,” καὶ “ναὶ μὰ τόν”· κατωμοτικά ταῦτα. ἀπωμοτικά δέ, “Μὰ τὸν Δί,” “οὐ μὰ τόν.” ὥστε ἐσχάτη ἀκυρολογία τὸ λέγειν, “Μὰ τὸν Δία ποίησον.” Furthermore, ναὶ μὰ τόν, the equivalent in meaning of νῆ τόν, is found in our literature.<sup>7</sup> There is no reason therefore, a priori or other, to doubt that Menander may have used it.

Many elliptical oaths<sup>8</sup> doubtless were due to aposiopesis, the sudden suppression of the conclusion of the end of a phrase or sentence. But aposiopesis is not the explanation of the omission of the deity's name in our passage, for there is no break in the continuity of thought. The ancient commentators<sup>9</sup> were wont to explain the omission of the god's name in these elliptical oaths as the result of piety or euphemism. In that way one might explain the oaths of a pious Socrates or of an Aelian of pretended piety.<sup>10</sup> But piety was scarcely the reason for the ellipsis, Pk. 221. Whoever the speaker, whether the impetuous young soldier Polemon, or the goodly friend and mediator Pataecus, he was a man who had no hesitance in swearing. Polemon elsewhere swears as follows: Pk. 267, 401, πρὸς θεῶν; 440, Ἀπολλων; 255, μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα; 417, νῆ τὸν Δία and possibly 569 K., ὁμνῶ σοι τὸν Δία τόν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν. Pataecus swears thus: Pk. 329, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν; 274, μὰ τὸν Δία; 313, ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμητε; 268, ὦ Πόσειδον. The failure to complete an oath might on occasion be the result of rhetorical artifice, the striving after unusual effects; but the speaker in Pk. 221 is in no facetious mood.

This passage should be treated, I believe, as an example of the Athenian vernacular. It proves, what perhaps should never have been doubted, viz., that these elliptical formulae were in rather common use. They

<sup>7</sup> Aelian *Histor. anim.* 3. 19, 4. 29; Theophylactus Simocatta *Histor.* 2. 9. 8; Anon. in Suid. s.v. ναὶ μὰ τόν.

<sup>8</sup> Strato Sard. l.c., Agathias l.c., Meleager *Epigr. Anth. Pal.* 5. 179; cf. Schröder, 6.

<sup>9</sup> Schol. Arist. *Ran.* 1374; schol. Pl. *Gorg.* 466 e.

<sup>10</sup> "Scilicet redundat liber Aeliani etiam alibi ementitae pietatis simulatione, velut IX 33, XIV 13 and 23; XV 11, cett."—Schröder 6 f.



resulted from the ellipsis of the superfluous final word of the commonplace phrases,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  ( $\nu\eta$ )  $\tau\acute{o}\nu$   $\Delta\iota\alpha$ , the oaths which were used most frequently and were therefore the weakest. A parallel for such omission was furnished by the ellipsis of the verb in the familiar curse,  $\epsilon\varsigma$   $\kappa\acute{o}\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ . The article seems always to have been in the masculine singular. We hear of other genders and numbers only in the rather dubious texts of the lexicographers,<sup>11</sup> and even they fail to cite any sure examples from ancient writers. The only possible instance is the much discussed<sup>12</sup> fragment of the *Orge* of Menander (369 K.) cited by Hesychius:  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$   $\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\nu$  ( $\mu\acute{\alpha}$   $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ ?):  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\kappa$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ .  $\text{Μένανδρος ἐν Ὀργῇ}$ . Bentley seems to have been the first to suggest that this was an elliptical oath. There are, in my opinion, certain serious objections to such an interpretation of the passage. (a) There are no parallels. (b) The origin of the form is obscure. No oath by a goddess is used so constantly as the common oaths by Zeus. Hence the name of the goddess by whom one swore would not be readily suggested to the hearer by the mere form of the article. (It is possible, of course, that had we the context we would see herein an instance of aposiopesis). (c)  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\kappa$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , the gloss, hardly seems the equivalent of  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$   $\mu\acute{\alpha}$   $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ , the assumed lemma. If this were an example of an oath by a goddess, would there not have been, as Schröder has suggested, a more careful explanation by the lexicographer? Perhaps an explanation was given, which has been lost in transmission. In any event it is strange that there is no mention of this passage in the numerous other glosses in Hesychius on the same general theme. The evidence, in my opinion, is against this being an oath, unless through aposiopesis, and of that we could judge only with the entire passage before us.

Rejecting this as an oath, one is involved in further difficulties in attempting to explain Hesychius' note:  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$   $\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\nu$  =  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\kappa$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ! In the belief that there is corruption in the text, various attempts at emendation have been made. Bos suggested  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\kappa$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\varsigma$ , and Passow  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , for the manuscript  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\kappa$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ . It is possible that one of these is the proper correction. Neither recommends itself to me. Both are too obvious and fail to explain the present form of the text.

<sup>11</sup> Phot. Suid. s.v.  $\nu\eta$   $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ ; Phot. Hesych. s.v.  $\nu\alpha\iota$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ; Eustath. l.c.; Gloss in Suid. s.v.  $\nu\alpha\iota$   $\mu\acute{\alpha}$   $\tau\acute{o}$ .

<sup>12</sup> Lambert Bos, *Animad.* (1715), III 14; Schneider, *Periculum criticum in Anthologicum C. Cephalae* (1772), 36; Toup, *Emendatt.* (1799), II 324; Hemsterhuys (1811), ad Arist. *Pl.* 120; Bentley; Huschke, *Anal. crit.* (1800), 39; Abresch, *Dilucid.* auctor. 390; Mein.; Dobree; Kock; Blaydes; Schröder, 8 f.; Passow, *Acta Soc. Philol. Lips.* (1811), T. I. p. 10f. •

In reading Bos' note in which he hazards the interpretation of οὐκ ἀληθῶς as a question, another possible explanation occurred to me. Bos refers to Hesychius s.v. οὐκ ἐτός and schol. ad Arist. *Plut.* 404. To these he might have added schol. Arist. *Pl.* 1166; schol. *Pl. Rep.* 568 a; Suid., Etym. M. s.v. ἐτός; and Tzetes, Cramer *Anecd.* IV 77. 10. In all these comments it is apparent that the scholiasts confounded ἐτός (ματαιῶς, "vainly"; cognate, Homeric ἐτώσιος) with ἐτεός (ἀληθής, "real," "true.")<sup>13</sup> It aided in this confusion that the few sentences<sup>14</sup> in which the phrase οὐκ ἐτός occurred might be interpreted in two ways. Taking οὐκ ἐτός as equivalent of οὐ μάτην, οὐ ματαιῶς "not in vain," the sentence might be considered a simple declarative. Or confounding οὐκ ἐτός with οὐκ ἐτεόν the sentence might be taken as a question: "Really, didn't he so and so?" The result is that the lexicographers gave two utterly incompatible explanations of the word, for example, Hesychius: οὐκ ἐτός· οὐ ματαιῶς, οὐκ ἀληθῶς or the schol. Arist. *Pl.* 404 on the same phrase οὐκ ἀλόγως, ἀλλὰ δικαίως, ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἀληθῶς. Bos after quoting these passages adds the comment: "quod postremum etiam interrogative scribendum. Jam ἐτός et μάτην idem significant." The logical fallacy which Bos has committed is clear enough: that of the undistributed middle. He has equated alternative but unequal explanations. Without assuming a deliberate fallacy on the part of the scholiast, I suspect that some such process lay back of the gloss in Hesychius. Perhaps there was a conscious collating of two or three different glosses on ἐτός. But more probably the original reading was οὐ μάτην· οὐκ ἐτός; then somebody, reading the glosses on οὐκ ἐτός, wrote in the margin οὐκ ἀληθῶς; and then this latter explanation, as the simpler, crowded out the original reading. Such, at least, is the hypothesis that has occurred to me. But in the words of Schröder "videlicet haec res ex iis est, quae certo sciri nequeant." A scholar of the future may have similar difficulty in determining the exact coloring of some of our colloquialisms such as "Oh my," "Go to," and "Glory be." Are they facetious or euphemistic!

<sup>13</sup> In the perplexed question of these etymologies (cf. Ebel, *ZvSpr.* V [1856], 69 f.; Fay, *Cl. Qu.* III [1909], 273), these general relationships are undoubted.

<sup>14</sup> Arist. *Ach.* 411, 413, *Av.* 915, *Thes.* 921, *Eccl.* 245, *Pl.* 404, 1166, fr. 10 K.; *Pl. Rep.* 3. 414 e, 8. 568 a; Philet. 5 K. 8; Oppian *Cyneg.* 1. 53.

## UNCERTAIN OATHS.

Pk. 95

ὁμνύω νῆ [

Speaker probably *servus* Davus (Kör., Sud.). The restorations suggested are νῆ τῆν 'Αθηνᾶν (or τὸν Ποσειδῶ) Kör., νῆ τὸν Δί' Sud.

Pk. 99

μὰ [ . . . οὐκ

ῥῆσθας, ἀλλὰ τυροπῶλει

*Iuvenis* Moschion chides his servant Davus. The three possibilities metrically are μὰ Δί(α), μὰ τὸν 'Απόλλω, or μὰ τὸν + vowel (i.e., elliptical oath).

Other passages where oaths have been restored are too uncertain for consideration.

## OTHER OATHS.

S. 110

ὦ πόλισμα Κεκροπίας χθονός,

ὦ ταναὸς αἰθήρ, ὦ—

*Senex* Demeas in great agitation.

This is an oath or invocation in true tragic style. Cf. Capps:

"a hodge-podge of Euripidean phrases that recall those in Aristophanes; cf. *Med.* 771 and *I. T.* 1014 πόλισμα Παλλάδος, *Hipp.* 34 and *Ion* 1571 Κεκροπίαν χθόνα, *Orest.* 322 τὸν ταναὸν αἰθέρα. The aether is apostrophized in *Soph. O. C.* 1471, ὦ μέγας αἰθήρ, ὦ Ζεῦ, and *Aesch. Prom.* 1092 ὦ πάντων αἰθῆρ κοινὸν φάος εἰλίσσων. Aristophanes uses πόλισμα for grandiose effect in *Av.* 553, 1565, and αἰθήρ often as a favorite word of Euripides, e.g., *Ran.* 892 αἰθήρ, ἐμὸν βόσκημα."

Cf. also ὦ πόλις "Ἀργούς *Arist. Eq.* 813, *Pl.* 601 = *Eur. Telephus*, 713 N.

Cf. also *Lef.* p. 208; *Wilamowitz, NJklA.* XXI (1908), 59 n. 1; *Van Leeuwen*<sup>2</sup>; *Körte, Arch. Pap.* IV (1908), 519; *Bodin-Mazon, Extraits, ad l.*

## SUMMARY.

Not excluding duplicates, there are one hundred and twenty-nine oaths in Menander of which the character is fairly certain: ninety-eight spoken by men, thirteen spoken by women, and eighteen where the sex of the speaker is uncertain, though he is probably in most cases a man. It will be noted that the great majority of the oaths are by men; that of those by men, nearly two-thirds are by *senes* or *servi*; and that of those by women, over half are by *meretrices*. This is what one might expect considering the proportion of the number of lines which the different

	MEN										WOMEN					SEX UNCERTAIN	Totals	
	Sons	Adulscen- tes	Servi	Milites	Parasiti	Lenones	Nautae	Coqui	Incerti	Totals	Matronae	Virgines	Meretrices	Ancillae	Anus	Totals		
All the gods.....	4	213	2	1				1	326		1	4				5	5	36
The twelve gods.....	1					1			2									2
Athena.....	2	1		2					7								1	8
Apollo.....	4		6	2					12								4	16
Asclepius.....			2						2								1	3
Aphrodite.....												1	1		2			2
Gê.....		1							1								1	2
Demeter.....				1					1			1			1			2
The Two Goddesses.....												1		1	2			2
Dionysus.....		1	1						2									2
Zeus.....	8	4	9	2			1		428	2					2		3	33
Helios.....	1	1	1						3	1					1		2	6
Heracles.....	3		6					1	10								1	11
Hephaestus.....	1								1									1
Poseidon.....	1							1	2									2
Elliptical.....									1	1								1
Grand Totals	25	1038	9	1	1	1	1	3	1098	3	1	7	1	1	13		18	129

classes of persons speak. One might think that oaths by *iuvenes* might be more frequent, but the rather small number is in part due to the fact that probably many of those which I have classed under *incerti* are really spoken by *iuvenes*, for example, oaths in the mouths of lovers. Furthermore, *milites* form really a mere subdivision of the larger class of *iuvenes*, for example, Polemon in the *Periceïromene*. The evidence seems to show no especial propensity for profanity on the part of any especial class of persons.

Menander confirms the conclusion which has already been drawn from the usage of other writers, that women never swear by Athena, Apollo, Dionysus, Heracles, or Poseidon; that men never swear by the Two Goddesses; and that all classes of persons indiscriminately, so far as we can judge, used the oath by all the gods and that by Zeus. Menander furnishes a slight amount of evidence on other forms of oaths, but no conclusions can be drawn from this evidence until additional material is available. It is unfortunate that there are no more oaths by young men or by women, that we might be able to tell whether any dis-



tion is to be drawn between the oaths which young men and old men used, or those which matrons and slave women or women of loose reputation used. Personally I do not believe that there was any such distinction, unless perhaps in the case of the oath by Poseidon; but this is an opinion based rather on theory than on evidence.

A comparison of the types of oaths used in Menander with the usage of Aristophanes, of other writers of Greek comedy, and of the writers of Latin comedy may be of interest. Of the sixteen leading forms, all save the oaths by Asclepius, Helios, and Hephaestus occur in Aristophanes; all save that by the Twelve Gods and the elliptical oath occur elsewhere in Greek comedy. The oaths by the Twelve Gods, by Asclepius, by the Two Goddesses, by Dionysus, by Hephaestus, and the elliptical oath do not occur in Latin comedy.

There are certain notable omissions in the list of gods by whom the characters in Menander swore. The oaths by Hermes, Hecate, and Hestia occur in Aristophanes and other comic poets, but not in Menander. Those by Hecate and Hestia are not found in Latin comedy. It is possible that the oath by Artemis (= Juno Lucina), occurring in Aristophanes and elsewhere, may have been used by the women of Menander, cf. *Men.* 40 K. Most of the oaths that occur in Aristophanes, not found in Menander, are oaths by local deities used by their especial worshippers, e.g., *Ach.* 776, a Megarian swears by Diocles, and *Ach.* 867, a Boeotian by Iolaus. The oaths by the "dog" and by Hera were Socratic favorites and are found only in the writers of the Socratic school, i.e., Xenophon and Plato. There are no oaths in Menander to parallel the Aristophanic oaths by "Respiration," ἁναπνοή, or "Holy Mist," Ὁμίχλη, which are used in the *Clouds* solely for comic effect. Menander has occasion to introduce such extravagant oaths only in such a paratragic passage as Demeas' soliloquy in the *Samia* (cf. p. 53).

In general, the characters in Menander used the oaths generally used in other Greek comedies, and presumably by the mass of the people. The oaths in Menander, therefore, furnish additional reason for believing that his language was closely imitative of the language of the common people.

## CHAPTER II.

### MUTES AND LIQUIDS.

The fact is well known<sup>1</sup> that in the iambic trimeter and trochaic tetrameter of the Attic drama the combination of mute and liquid within a single word differed from other combinations of two consonants in its effect upon a preceding syllable short by nature. The consonants  $\gamma\mu$ ,  $\gamma\nu$ ,  $\delta\mu$ ,  $\delta\nu$  always make position;  $\beta\lambda$ ,  $\gamma\lambda$  regularly do, in Aristophanes always. On the other hand, the remaining combinations, viz.  $\beta\rho$ ,  $\gamma\rho$ ,  $\delta\rho$ ,  $\theta\lambda$ ,  $\theta\mu$ ,  $\theta\nu$ ,  $\theta\rho$ ,  $\kappa\lambda$ ,  $\kappa\mu$ ,  $\kappa\nu$ ,  $\kappa\rho$ ,  $\pi\lambda$ ,  $\pi\nu$ ,  $\pi\rho$ ,  $\tau\lambda$ ,  $\tau\mu$ ,  $\tau\nu$ ,  $\tau\rho$ ,  $\phi\lambda$ ,  $\phi\nu$ ,  $\phi\rho$ ,  $\chi\lambda$ ,  $\chi\mu$ ,  $\chi\nu$ ,  $\chi\rho$ , usually have no effect upon the quantity of a preceding short syllable. In tragedy these rules are occasionally violated in certain words of lyric and epic association, and in a few instances through conscious poetic freedom. In Aristophanes all exceptions, apart from the word  $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\eta}$  (which I shall have occasion to discuss later), appear to be due to quotation, parody, or reminiscence of other poets.

<sup>1</sup>An exhaustive bibliography of the discussions of the metrical value of mutes and liquids in the Attic drama would be very extensive. I have consulted the following scholars; the list includes, I trust, all the more important discussions and statements of the principles involved:

Dawes, *Misc. Crit.* (1745), Sec. V. ad Arist. *Pl.* 166; Hermann, *Elem. metr.* (ed. 1817), p. 28 f., ad Soph. *Antig.* 296, ad Eur. *Bacch.* 1301, ad Aesch. *Agam.* 400; Porson, ad Eur. *Hec.* 298, praef. ad *Hec.* LIX, *Mus. Crit.* III (1814), 334; Monk, ad Eur. *Alc.* 408; Elmsley, ad Eur. *Med.* 288, ad Eur. *Bacch.* 1307; Schäfer, ad Eur. *Orest.* 64; Seidler, ad Eur. *El.* 1009, 1053; Bothe, *Soph. fr.* 1, p. 107; Lobeck, ad Soph. *Aj.* 1109; Matthiä, *Gramm.* ed. 1837 (English trans.), §§24, 25; Cobet *Mn.* IV (1855), 124 f. = N. L. 28 f.; Rumpel, *Quaestiones metricae*, progr. Insterburg, (1865-6); Schmidt, *Gr. Metrik* 66 (trans. White 8); Maguire, *The Prosody of  $\beta\lambda$  and  $\gamma\lambda$  in Old Comedy and Tragedy*, *Hermath.* II (1876), 331-354; Göbel, *De correptione Attica*, diss. Bonn (1876); Christ, *Metrik der Gr. u. R.* (1879), 12 f.; Kopp, *Positio debilis und correptio Attica*, *RhMus.* XLI (1886), 247 ff., 376 ff.; F. Perschinka, *De mediae et novae quae vocatur comoediae Atticae trimetro iambico*, diss. (1891), 367 f. (reprint, *Dissertationes philologiae Vindobonensis* III [1887], 321-373); Rossbach-Westphal, *Gr. Metrik*, III<sup>3</sup> (1887), 1. 105 f.; Kühner-Blass, *Gramm.* I 1. 303-307; Kock, ad Arist. *Nub.* 320; Tucker, *On a Point of Meter in Greek Tragedy*, *ClR* XI (1897), 341 ff.; von Mess, *zur Positionsdehnung vor Muta cum Liquida bei den*

As for the comedy of the Middle and New periods, it has been assumed by many scholars<sup>2</sup> that it was more closely related to tragedy in matters of prosody, than to the Old Comedy. The discovery of considerable fragments of the plays of Menander may enable us in some measure to test this assumption.

I desire therefore to cite the passages in his fragments in which there are real or apparent exceptions to the foregoing rules; to determine, if possible, the justification for each genuine exception. The solution of this problem may give some clue concerning the relation of Menander's language, on the one hand, to that of tragedy, and, on the other hand, to that of the common people.

#### SYLLABLES IN THE STRONG POSITION REMAIN SHORT.

Before  $\beta\lambda$  the syllable appears to remain short in

638. 1 K.,  $\mu\eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\psi\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\ \nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega.$ <sup>3</sup>

Cobet, with whom Koek and Blaydes later agreed, doubted this reading. But Meineke stoutly defended it and noted parallels for such shortening in Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, in Sopater, the writer of tragic farces, as well as in late Greek writers. But these authors are poor criteria for the prosody of the comic trimeter. We must consider, however, the three passages which Meineke quoted from comedy, in poets other than Aristophanes and Menander.

*attischen Dichtern*, RhMus. LVIII (1903), 270 ff.; A. Körte, RhMus. LX (1905), 411 f.; Naylor, *Doubtful Syllables in Iambic Senarii*, ClQu. I (1907), 4 ff.; Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, Berlin klassikertexte, V. (1907), 2. 74, ad v. 7; *id.*, NJrklA. XXI (1908), 58 n.; Sachtshal, *De comicorum Graecorum sermone metro accomodato*, diss. Breslau (1908), 12 f.; Schade, *De correptione Attica*, diss. Grypswalde (1908); Selvers, *De mediae comoediae sermone*, diss. Westphalia (1909), 15 f.; Capps, ad Pk. 156 (86 Kör.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. Mein. on the prosody of  $\beta\lambda$ ,  $\gamma\lambda$ , I 295 (cf. Perschinka; Schade, 41; Selvers), Koek, ad Antiph. 175. 2, and Kühner-Blass, I 1. 307. Mein. seems to have recognized that the later comic poets did not differ from the old in their treatment of the weak position, cf. nn. 17, 22, 28, 37. So also Wilamowitz. Körte, Sachtshal, take the opposite view.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Elmsley, Edin. Rev. XIX (1811), 90 n.; Mein. *Men. fab. inc.* XCI, *Com. Gr.* I 295, ed. Theocr. p. 331, *Commentatio de Scymno*, p. 8, ed. Stob. IV p. LXXI; Cobet, Mn. IV (1855), 241 (= N. L. 57 f.); Jacobs, ap. Mein. V p. CCLXXV; Koek; Perschinka; Blaydes, *Advers.* I 156, II 228, ad Arist. *Vesp.* 570; Herwerden, *Collectanea critica, epicritica, exegetica* (1903), 172 f.; Selvers.

Autocr.<sup>4</sup> 3 K.

ἄμνοι δὲ βληχάζουσιν:

Kock's emendation, *μηκάζουσιν*, is easy and removes the metrical difficulty.<sup>5</sup> In

Machon, ap. Athen. 13. 581 b. 8 καὶ τὰ δόρατ' ἀποβλέψασα

the syllable before βλ is to be considered long or short, according as one does or does not acknowledge the admission into the iambic trimeter of an anapest after a dactyl.<sup>6</sup> Apart from the fact that this combination seems to occur in a number of passages scattered through Greek comedy,<sup>7</sup> it should not surprise us in Machon, whose verse was irregular. Indeed this very combination occurs in vv. 10, 27 of this same passage. I do not doubt therefore that the vowel before βλ might have been treated as long. Those who refuse to believe that Machon ever used the combination of dactyl and anapest, must assume corruption both in our line and in vv. 10, 27,—an assumption by no means impossible. But, in any case, Meineke has found in the line a very poor witness. In the remaining parallel cited by Meineke,

Antiph. 175. 2 K., φοίνικας, ἐν Ἀθήναις δὲ γλαῦκας. ἡ Κύπρος,

the syllable before γλ appears to be short. Corruption was suspected by Herwerden, Mn. IV (1876), 322,<sup>8</sup> but he was unable to suggest any remedy. However, the failure to find the remedy for a doubtful line does not necessarily prove that the line is not corrupt; and any passage must be held in suspicion which involves prosody scarcely paralleled elsewhere. It is surely remarkable if true that this should be the only instance in comedy where a syllable remains short before γλ. But to return to Men. 638. 1 K., it is to be noted as further argument against the soundness of the received text, that before βλέπω, the syllable preceding is always lengthened or common both in tragedy<sup>9</sup> and elsewhere

<sup>4</sup> Maguire, 340, thinks to solve the difficulty by discrediting the early date assigned to Autocrates on the authority of Suidas (Mein. I 270).

<sup>5</sup> "nihil opus."—Blaydes. Herwerden suggests that the failure to make position may be due to paratragedy, but in the three tragedians with the single exception of βύβλου Aesch. *Suppl.* 761, the only word in iambs and trochees which allows a vowel before βλ to remain short is βλαστάνω with cognates, cf. Maguire, 335; Rossbach-Westphal, l.c.

<sup>6</sup> Tolit. cited by White, ClPh. IV (1909), 159 f., add Rumpel, Phil. XXVIII (1869), 626; Perschinka, 363 f.; Mein. IV 498; Kock, RhMus. XLVIII (1893), 213.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the list in Rossbach-Westphal, III<sup>3</sup> 2. 229 f., and Christ, 329.

<sup>8</sup> But see Kock and Selvers.

<sup>9</sup> Hence our fragment is not tragic, as Elmsley assumed.



in Menander: Long: S. 62 ἀποβλέψω, 325. 4 K. οὐκέτι βλέπεις, 541. 3 τὸ βλέπειν, 586. 2 ἀντιβλέπειν; Common: 402. 5 ἀποβλέπωσι.<sup>10</sup> To be sure, no satisfactory emendation for the line has been suggested: Cobet's μὴ τοῦτο μέμψῃσθ' involves changes also in the line that follows; Blaydes' μὴ τοῦτ' ἀθρήσῃς or μὴ τοῦτο γίνωσκ', hardly gives the sense; Meineke's own suggestion, μὴ τοῦτ' ἐλέγξῃς is perhaps the easiest. But to repeat, the failure to find a satisfactory emendation does not prove the soundness of the suspected text. All the evidence, the lack of satisfactory parallels, and the all but complete variance with tragic and comic usage, brings the manuscript reading under suspicion.

Similar conclusions are to be drawn concerning

683. 2 K., ἡ πολλὰ φάυλως περιβεβλησθαι πράγματα.<sup>11</sup>

As in the other instances Meineke defended the reading, while Kock and Blaydes suspected corruption. Once again the usage of tragedy and of Menander is against the manuscript tradition: In S. 192, we find ἐκβέβληκε with antepenult of common quantity, but there is no example of a short syllable in such a place. Kock's περιβεβῦσθαι γράμματα was rightly rejected by Blaydes and Herwerden. The true reading is still to be found. Apart from these two passages, which from general considerations of tragic and comic prosody may be suspected, Menander always lengthened a syllable before a medial with λ, μ, ν.<sup>12</sup>

#### SYLLABLES IN THE WEAK POSITION ARE LENGTHENED.

377 K. νῦν πῖθι, νῦν ἀφύβρισον, ἦν ἀφύβρικα.

One cannot treat as short the syllable in question both times it occurs in this verse without introducing an overlapping tribrach ( ∪ ∪ ∪ + ) in the fifth foot, of which phenomenon there are only two examples else-

<sup>10</sup> In Pk. 86, a trochaic passage, the quantity of the syllable before βλ in ἐπίβλεφ is uncertain because of a lacuna preceding and following; but every acceptable restoration that has been proposed makes the vowel long before βλ; cf. Capps and Jensen.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Mein. ad. l., Theocritus, p. 331; Kock, and RhMus. XLVIII (1893), 212; Blaydes; Herwerden; Selvers.

<sup>12</sup> In certain fragments, the lines are so defective that meter, and hence quantity, are in doubt: e.g.,

27 K. ἀμφιβλήστρω περιβάλλεται

714 K. ὅταν γέρων γέροντι γνώμην διδοῖ

There are no examples of δμ, δν.

where in Menander: 123. 2 K., 325. 15, and but five in Aristophanes (White, 144). To treat it as long both times, is to introduce into the fourth foot the equally objectionable anapest beginning with the last two syllables of an unelided word (+ ∪ ∪, —) a phenomenon which occurs in the fourth place in 462. 3 K., and in the second place, 348. 8, in a combination of proper names (White, 153). Therefore it seems preferable to scan the disputed syllable, first as short, and then as long. For this divergent treatment of the same syllable in one and the same line, tragedy furnishes numerous parallels: e.g., Soph. *O. C.* 883, Eur. *I. A.* 961 ὕβρις (short), ὕβρις' (long); Eur. *Cycl.* 673 τυφλοῖ (long), τυφλός (short); *Ores.* 794, ὀκνήσεις (long), ὀκνος (short); 517 N. ἀγρέεις (long), ἄγραν (short); *Phoen.* 881 νεκροί (long), νεκροῖς (short); *I. T.* 3 Ἀτρέως (short), Ἀτρέως (long); Soph. *O. C.* 442, πατρός (short), πατρί (long); *Phil.* 296 πέτροισιν (short), πέτρον (long); *Antig.* 1240 νεκρός (long), νεκρῶ (short).<sup>13</sup>

Elsewhere in Menander, this syllable is short, ὕβρει 728 K., or common, ὕβριζέτω Pk. 316. ἀφυβρίσαι occurs in Alexis 45. 4 K. with short antepenult. It does not occur in tragedy. However, the kindred word, ὕβρις, with many of its other compounds is frequent enough and with long quantity is found twenty times in Sophocles and Euripides.<sup>14</sup> The tragic associations of the root word are very clear therefore. Though the tragic influence is not otherwise apparent in our verse, nor even in this particular word ἀφύβρικα, it was doubtless responsible for this lengthening before βρ.<sup>15</sup>

1108 K. γῆρας λέοντος κρείσσον ἀκμαίων νεβρῶν

Though ἀκμή is found in Aristophanes and παρακμάση Men. 573. 2 K., (both short), ἀκμαίων is elsewhere unknown to comedy. As Kock observed it is distinctly a tragic word, especially with this quantity, e.g., Aesch. *Pers.* 441, Eur. *Alc.* 316, *Hel.* 897. Furthermore, the fragment was assigned to Menander by Dübner, merely because it follows 738 K., which is definitely ascribed to him in the manuscript.<sup>16</sup> Whether from

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Matthiä, *Gramm.* 101, ad Eur. *Hec.* 673; Kühner-Blass, I 1. 307 n.; Sacht-schal, 13.

<sup>14</sup> Tucker's totals, which I follow throughout, are somewhat smaller than those of Rumpel or Göbel, partly because he leaves out of consideration Eur. *Rhes.*, *I. A.*, *Cycl.*

<sup>15</sup> I formerly thought to find an example of lengthening before δρ in a word of tragic association in ἐφεδρείειν (Capps) or ἐφεδρον (Sudhaus), Pk. 134; but Sudhaus now restores according to Jensen's reading:

οὐ σφ]όδρ' [ἦκ]ουσεν παρόντα σ' ἡδέ[ως] M. μαστιγία.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Kock; Cramer, *Anec. Ox.* IV 254. 21.

Menander or not, it is preëminently a tragic line,<sup>17</sup> and the prosody of ἀκμαίων is to be treated accordingly.

1085 K.                    ἄνευ δὲ πατρὸς τέκνον οὐκ εἶη ποτ' ἄν.  
                               ἄνευ δὲ μητρὸς οὐδὲ συλλαβὴ τέκνου,  
                               πατέρα δὲ ποιεῖ τέκνα, μητέρ' ὥς ἀνὴρ.

τέκνον with long penult occurs thirty-one times in Sophocles and seventy-seven times in Euripides. For variant treatment in adjacent lines, cf. Eur. *Alc.* 377, 379; *Herc. f.* 45, 47; 454, 456; 1420, 1422; *Phoen.* 18, 19; 1263, 1264. The syllable is long in Antiph. 163. 6 K.<sup>18</sup>, Eupolis 103. 2 K.,<sup>19</sup> Arist. 585. 1 K.<sup>20</sup> In Menander it is elsewhere short: G.25, 63, 84, S. 27, 598. 2 K., cf. φιλότεκνος 657 K.

There is no certainty whatever that the passage before us was written by Menander. The ascription is due entirely to the surmise of Hemsterhuys in a note on Clemens Alex. *Strom.* 2. 23. 142, and was approved by Dindorf.<sup>21</sup> But the chances are against it, since v. 1 = Eur. *Orest.* 554, where the scholiast quotes ἄνευ δὲ μητρὸς v. 2. (Adesp. 16 K.). If Menander or any comic poet used these verses as they stand, he must have been consciously imitating Euripides.

712. 1 K.                    ἐπὶ ἀν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπὶ κρεῖττέν γέννη.

The dactyl in the second place shows the corruption of the line, which is therefore to be neglected as evidence on matters of prosody and meter.<sup>22</sup>

Pl. 229                    δεὸν λαβεῖν κατὰ κράτος.    οὐτοσί με γὰρ

This adverbial phrase occurs only twice again in comedy, Pl. 407, 198,<sup>23</sup> but with this metrical phrasing | —κατὰ|κράτος| (—, ∪ ∪, | ∪ —).

<sup>17</sup>"neque Menandri neque alius poetae comici fragmentum esse, vel productio primae syllabae im ἀκμαίων docket."—Mein. IV 711.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. Mein.; Koek; Perschinka, 368; Körte, RhMus. LX (1905), 412 criticised by Wilanowitz, 59, for τέκνον "ist immer Lehnwort des hohen Stiles da es nicht mehr in Leben gebräuchlich ist."

<sup>19</sup>Parody of some tragic poet (Hermann, *Opusc.* V 290, cf. Mein.), Euripides (Mein.), cf. Koek.

<sup>20</sup>Tragic imitation, cf. Mein. V 70, Koek.

<sup>21</sup>Ad Clem. Alex. l. c.; cf. Koek.

<sup>22</sup>ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπὶ ἀν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον γέννη Mein.; ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπὶ ἀν τὰ σ' ἐπὶ κρεῖττον πέση (ῥέπη), Blaydes, cf. Mein. *Men. et Phil. Rel.* 248, 576; Herwerden.

<sup>23</sup>Since the lacuna in the second foot can scarcely be supplied save by two shorts, the scansion of the remainder of the line is certain.

At first sight it would appear that in our passage the syllable before *κρ* must be long to avoid the tribrach (υ υ, υ) beginning with a dissyllabic word, which form of tribrach is not found elsewhere in the third foot of any verse of Menander and only twice in Aristophanes, *Av.* 1588, *Ach.* 71.<sup>24</sup> It does occur, however, in the parallel phrase, *κατὰ τρόπον* Apollod. 17. 2 K., the first foot of which Perschinka, 340, scans as a tribrach (υ υ, υ) excusing, as one might here, the metrical peculiarity on the ground of the close connection between the two words. Of the two metrical peculiarities the tribrach is less violent than the lengthening of the syllable which must therefore be scanned as short.

E. 107

θηρᾶν λέοντας, ὄπλα βαστάζειν, τρέχειν

Though ὄπλαιζε with common quantity of the antepenult is found in Pk. 200, ὄπλα does not occur elsewhere in Menander. But with long penult it occurs twenty-two times in tragedy. This passage of the *Epileptontes* is decidedly tragic, and the lengthening is to be ascribed to tragic influence as Naber, Mn. VIII (1880), 425; Wilamowitz, 59; Leeu.; Hense, BphW. XXIX (1909), 1502; and Capps have remarked.<sup>25</sup>

Pk. 393

χρυσῇ τε μίτρα

μίτρα is elsewhere unknown to comedy. The penult is short in its two occurrences in tragedy, Eur. *Hec.* 924 (lyric), *Bacch.* 833. In Homer, on the contrary, it is always long, *Il.* 4. 137, 187, 216; 5. 857. This passage in the Leipzig fragment, though much broken, is distinctly tragic.<sup>26</sup> If the text be right,<sup>27</sup> the usage of epic poetry is here to be recognized.

557. 4 K.

τὰ δ' ἴδια προστιθέασι τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις

There is no parallel in comedy or tragedy for the lengthening of the antepenult of ἀλλοτρίοις. In Menander elsewhere, E. 96, S. 130, 68. 2 K., 602. 2, 742, the syllable is short. There seems to be no justification for this lengthening. Inasmuch as the sense is obscure, the passage is probably corrupt.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> White, 145; Rumpel, Phil. XXVIII (1869), 607.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Leo, GötNachr. (1907), 327.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Körte, BSG. LX (1908), 169 f.; Schmidt, WklPh. XXVI (1909), 1053, Herm. XLIV (1909), 440; Capps, ad l.

<sup>27</sup> Körte l.c. queried the reading because of the unusual lengthening, and in the Teubner ed. (1910) accepted Herwerden's emendation by transposition, μίτρα τε χρυσῇ πάντα. Cf. Capps.

<sup>28</sup> So Mein.; Kock; Naber, Mn. VIII (1880), 422; Blaydes; Wilamowitz. Herwerden's defense of the passage, *Obs. Crit.* 94, with the difficult translation, "ita-



1085. 1 K.

ἄνευ δὲ πατρός τέκνον οὐκ εἶη ποτ' ἄν.

There is no other example in Menander of the long penult in *πατρός* (-i), the syllable being either short,—E. 449, Pk. 307,<sup>29</sup> 320, S. 39, 53, 60 K., 520. 2, 603. 1, 656, 808; or common E. 351, S. 99, 660 K.; common also in its derivatives: *πάτρια*, Kl. 23<sup>30</sup>; *ὁμοπάτρια*, G. 10; *πατρῴος*, 68. 1 K., 349. 3, 403. 3(?)<sup>31</sup>; *πατρῷ* 582. 1. However, this lengthening in *πατρός* (-i) is frequent in tragedy, Tucker noting one hundred and thirty instances, not to mention the same prosody in the derivatives of this root. All this evidence strengthens the conclusion already formed (p. 61), in discussing the prosody of *τέκνον*, that Clemens Alex. is quoting a tragic poet or a reminiscence of tragedy in a comic poet.

694 K.

φρόνησιν ἀσκῶν ἄφροσιν μὴ χρῶ φιλοῖς  
ἐπεὶ κεκλήσει καὶ σὺ παντελῶς ἄφρων.

*ἄφρων* occurs in Menander only once elsewhere, 1096 K., and there the penult is short. Other compounds of the same root are frequent, but a preceding short syllable always remains short: *ἀφρόνως*, Pk. 308; *φρονέω* (*κατα-*) G. 27, E. 15, S. 297, 6. 2 K., 88, 93. 1, 301. 10, 538. 5, 676; *φροντίς* E. 38; *φροντίζω* E. 552, 752 K.; or else is of common quantity: *φρόνιμος*, 421 K.; *φροντίς*, 539. 8 K.; *φροντίζω* 653 K.

As the uncertain reading in the second line of our passage indicates,<sup>32</sup> there is corruption present, but *τοῖς ἄφροισιν* Dobree, approved by Blaydes, heals the fault, especially since it gives a trisyllabic anapest (υ υ —) in the fourth place, of which there are eighteen examples in 728 sound verses of Menander (White, 150),—sufficient evidence of the poet's readiness to use this form.

que rem alienam augent sua," he seems to have reconsidered, for he fails to mention it in his *Collect. Cr.*, but admits that the passage is corrupt. Neither *ἐναντίους* (?) Koek, *τοῖσι τῶν πέλας* (cf. v. 2) Blaydes, nor *προστιθέασιν ἄλλοτρίους ἔχειν* Blaydes, is satisfactory.

<sup>29</sup> Sachtschal's scansion, 13, involves a faulty anapest in the second place; cf. White, 154 f.

<sup>30</sup> Sachtschal's scansion, *ib.*, involves a spondee in the fourth foot (!)

<sup>31</sup> Spengel's very doubtful conjecture. *ἀπάντων* Koek, nearer the mss., cf. Blaydes.

<sup>32</sup> Koek fails to give the important variant *κριθήσῃ* which may be correct, cf. *τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ σοφῶν ἀποφθέγματα*, v. 160, ed. Wöflin, SMA. (1886), 289 f.; Nauck; Herwerden.

E. 118

αὐτὸς ἵνα κερδάνειε δραχμὰς δώδεκα.

The prosody of *δραχμή* has been the subject of much controversy.<sup>33</sup> In Achaeus 55 N., its only occurrence in tragedy, the penult is of common quantity. In comedy it is generally short (seventeen times in Aristophanes), but it is long: Arist. *Vesp.* 691 (anapests), *Pax* 1201, *Pl.* 1019; Philipp. 9. 7 K.; Antiph. 147. 5; Alex. 2. 6 (anapests); Plato com. 174. 17; Macho, ap. Athen. 13. 581 b. 8. In the passages of Aristophanes just cited, Bergk followed by Dindorf *et al.*, restored the form *δραχμή* mentioned by Hesychius s.v.; while Gaisford, ad Suid. I, 1058, against the judgment of Thomas Magister, read the form *δραγμή*, cited by Suid. s.v. But Aristophanes would scarcely for the sake of meter have introduced into a few passages a dubious Attic form.<sup>34</sup> One might assume that the passages cited are all corrupt,<sup>35</sup> if their number did not preclude such a view. The simplest solution is to believe, with Wilamowitz, that the occasional length of the penult became a poetic tradition in comedy, justified by the poets on the grounds of metrical expediency. Compare the treatment of "wind" in English poetry.

If we grant this metrical license to the comic poets, it is unnecessary in E. 118, our point of departure, to assume corruption.<sup>36</sup> Neither, on the other hand, can we draw any conclusions from this especial case as to the general practice of *productio* by Menander. It is interesting to note that elsewhere the disputed syllable is placed by Menander where it would be of common quantity, that is, in the arsis of an odd foot: J. II. 11, S. 177, 197 K., 319. 3, 319. 7, 327. 3. Did Menander have a feeling for the length of the syllable?

633. 1 K.

δεῖ τοὺς πενομένους μέχρι ἂν ζῶσιν πορεύειν.

*μέχρι* is found but twice in tragedy, Eur. 953. 32 N., Soph. *Aj.* 571 (commonly suspected), and then with short penult. Menander uses it in S. 321, 588. 3 K. both times with short penult. Bentley's emenda-

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Bernhardt ad Suid. s.v. *δραγμή*; Bachmann, *Lexici Aristophanei specimen*, Frankfurt (1884), 6; Kopp; Körte; Wilamowitz; Leo, *GöNachr.* (1907), 327; Leeu.; Capps, ad E. 118; together with commentators (esp. Bergk, Blaydes, Dindorf) on Arist. *Vesp.* 691, *Pax* 1201, *Pl.* 1019.

<sup>34</sup> So Kopp, Bachmann (quoting Röper, *progr. Danzig* [1878], 25-27) s.v. *δραγμή*. *δραγμή*, though the correct form theoretically, has no existence outside of Suidas, who, perhaps, followed the reading of a corrupt manuscript (Pearson, cf. Bernhardt).

<sup>35</sup> Bachmann, 7, cites many emendations, all of which Kopp justly rejects.

<sup>36</sup> *δραχμὰς ἵνα κερδάνειεν αὐτῷ δώδεκα* Housman.

tion *πενόμενους* for *γινόμενους* removed one fault in the verse, which is quoted by Stobaeus in an undoubtedly corrupt form. In my opinion the verse still needs attention,<sup>37</sup> for the prosody of *μέχρι* as the verse now stands is open to grave objection.

H. fr. *Lex. Sabb.*

νῦν δὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἄσπεως

κυρηγέταις ἤκουσαι περὶ ἡσομαι

τὰς ἀχράδας.

The prosody of the last word bothered Kock, *RhMus.* XLVIII (1893), 587, and Kretschmar, 59, because they failed to see that the quotation began not at the beginning but at the middle of a verse. The remedy was given by Wilamowitz l.c. 40 n. 2.

I have now discussed the exceptions, or supposed exceptions, to the prosodic rule of mutes and liquids in Menander. The results of the examination are as follows: In the strong position we found two lines in which a syllable remained short before words beginning with *βλ*, though elsewhere, in comedy and tragedy alike, syllables are lengthened before this combination in these two particular words. Examination of the parallels presented by Meineke showed that, apart from these two doubtful passages in Menander, there is but one passage (possibly two) in Middle or New Comedy in which our manuscript tradition gives any evidence whatever of a shortening of a syllable in the strong position. Because of the very meagerness of the evidence, the conclusion followed that the text in all these passages is probably corrupt.

As to the weak position, thirteen passages have been discussed. Our conclusions may be summarized as follows: Tragic influence, five instances, *ἀφύβρικα* 377 K.; *ἀκμαίων* 1108 K., Men. *incert.*; *τέκνον*, *πατρός* 1085 K., Men. *incert.*; *ὄπλα* E. 107. Epic, one instance, *μίτρα* Pk. 393, tragic passage. Metrical convention, one instance, *δραχμάς*, E. 118, similar use in Aristophanes. Corrupt verse, two instances, *ἐπὶ κρεῖττον* 712. 1 K.; *μέχρι* 633. 1 K. Suspected, two instances, *ἄλλοτρίους* 557. 4 K., sense obscure; *ἄφροσιν* 694. 1 K., following verse corrupt, *τοῖς ἄφροσιν* a probable emendation. Lengthening wrongly assumed, two instances, *κατὰ κράτος* Pk. 229; *ἀχράδας* H. fr. *Lex. Sabb.*

In view of this evidence, in view of what appears to have been the

<sup>37</sup> "versus nondum persanatus est"—Mein. IV 258. *τοὺς γε* L. Dindorf, ad *Stephanus Thes.* s.v. *μέχρι* ("probabiliter," Mein. V 106); *τοὺς πενόμενους μέχρι ἂν οὐ*, Mein.; *τοὺς πενόμενους (γὰρ) δεῖ* Blaydes; Körte accepted the reading of the manuscript while Wilamowitz suspected it.

practice of other poets of New and Middle Comedy,<sup>38</sup> in view of the colloquial tone of Menander's trimeter—so well fitted to be the medium of the comedy of manners—I think we must conclude (a) that any arbitrary departure from the Attic speech of his day, either by *correptio* in the strong position, or *productio* in the weak position,<sup>39</sup> was avoided by

<sup>38</sup> Of the ten examples of *productio* in Middle and New Comedy cited by Körte, Wilamowitz's searching criticism left but four. Of these four, two, Men. 557. 4 K., 633, are undoubtedly corrupt, as I have already shown. That leaves but two examples on which to build a theory:—one of these, Philipp. 25. 5 K. (Plut. V. Demos. 12) is a corrupt line, running thus in the manuscript:

δι' ὃν ἀσεβοῦντα ὁ πέπλος ἐρράγη μέσος;

The hiatus has been removed by different emendations: δι' ὃν ἀσεβοῦνθ' ὁ πέπλος ἐρράγη μέσος Sintenis, Körte; δι' ὃν ἀσεβοῦνθ' ὁ πέπλος διερράγη μέσος Cobet, Köck; δι' ὃν ἀσεβοῦντα δ' ὁ πέπλος ἐρράγη μέσος, Mein. At best the quantity of the first syllable of πέπλος is uncertain here. In tragedy, there are fourteen cases of its lengthening, twice, as it happens, with ῥήγνυμι:

Aesch. Pers. 468

ῥήξας δὲ πέπλους

Eur. Hec. 558

λαβοῦσα πέπλους ἐξ ἄκρας ἐπωμίδος  
ἐρρηξε λαγόνας.

In comedy it is long, once, in an obviously paratragedic passage, Hermipp. 6 K., cf. Cobet. Studniczka, *Die altgr. Tracht*, Wien (1886), 135, has shown that πέπλος was not in common use after Homer, being confined to tragedy or else referring distinctly to the sacred Peplos of the goddess. Therefore even if one could grant the correctness of the text which Körte adopts, one could not find in the passage a proof of the general use of *productio* by the writers of Comedy, but merely a further instance of tragic parody.

Körte's only remaining test passage is Diph. 38. 2 K.

ὁ Χαβρίου. Κτήσιππος, εἰσηγησάμην.

Apart from the general freedom with which poets treat proper names, the natural quantity of the antepenult of Χαβρίας is uncertain, the word occurring in poetry so far as I know only in Timocl. 5 K., where it is short. Probably Diph. l.c. is corrupt and we should read with Bergk (cf. Blaydes) ὁ τοῦ Χαβρίου.

Salvers adds to Körte's list Eub. 107. 8 K.

ἐν ὄνομα πολλοῖς, τρωτός, ἄτρωτος, δασύς,

In v. 4, an hexameter, the syllable is short. The prosody may be explained by the fact that the word belongs to the high style, occurring in Pindar, the tragedians, Plato, Aristotle and late writers.

Sachtschal cites adesp. 231 K. διάπλεκε and adesp. 398 τετρυνημένη, as apparent examples of *productio*. Apart from the suspicion of corruption (cf. Mein.), one scarcely cares to base an argument on verses whose pedigree cannot be more definitely traced.

<sup>39</sup> I know of no evidence that *correptio Attica* was a different thing in the mouths of the common people at the end of the IV century than at the beginning. For the



Menander, who was above all a metrical artist<sup>40</sup>; (b) that any verses, in which such departures occur, are to be understood, if supported by parallels, as quotations, parodies, or reminiscences of other poets; and (c) that all other such verses, if this latter explanation seems improbable,<sup>41</sup> are to be held under suspicion. In short Menander's prosodic treatment of syllables before a mute and liquid was not a whit different from that of Aristophanes. To use the words of Wilamowitz,

Natürlich ist Menander so korrekt wie Aristophanes und die kleinen Fehler der Ueberlieferung zu heben Bagatelle; dass manchmal noch Korruptelen unheilbar bleiben, lehrt jeden die Praxis, darum sind es doch Korruptelen.

earlier period, the evidence of Aristophanes is conclusive; for the later period that of Menander and the other later comic poets.

<sup>40</sup> But cf. Cobet, N. L. 54; Richards, ClQu. II (1908), 134. The famous reply of Menander on the eve of a dramatic contest (Plut. *De glor. Athen.* 347 f.): *νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔγωγε πεποίηκα τὴν κωμωδίαν· ὥκονόμηται γάρ ἡ διάθεσις· δεῖ δ' αὐτῇ τὰ στιχίδια ἐπᾶσαι*, was a rhetorical way of stating his own emphasis on plot and on portrayal of character (*ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πράγματα τῶν λόγων ἀναγκαιότερα καὶ κυριώτερα νομίζουσιν*). The new fragments have borne out this judgment, but they have given us no "ground for thinking that he was comparatively indifferent to the words (Richards, l. c.)."

<sup>41</sup> Schade, who attempts to explain all cases of lengthening in the weak position as due to the metrical stress, 22, criticises Kopp et al.:

"hoc m. nime sufficere mihi videtur, si quis dicit locum quendam ex alio poeta sumptum esse, cum certum locum non afferat vel afferre non possit."

It is, in my opinion, merely a question as to where the burden of proof is to be placed. It does not always require legal evidence to produce moral certainty, and a word may be convicted of tragic or epic associations though one cannot cite author, work, or verse which is borrowed or parodied.

## CHAPTER III.

### OMISSION OF THE ARTICLE METRI CAUSA.

A poet's style is determined largely by three factors: the thought-content, the spoken idiom in which the thought is expressed, and the metrical form to which the idiom is accommodated. The use and omission of the article in Greek prose has a well-recognized and very definite influence upon thought-content: as its use limits the concept of the substantive which it modifies to a definite individual, so its omission removes all such limitation. This principle, so clear in prose, must not be neglected in the interpretation of verse, especially verse that closely imitated the speech of daily life. The commentator's first duty in any case of omission is to seek an explanation in the thought which the poet is apparently endeavoring to express. The commentator must ask himself: Is this noun, from which the article has been omitted, unlimited in its application? If, on the contrary, it is clear that it refers to a definite individual or thing, and furthermore if there appear in prose no parallels for such omission, then and then only may he admit the influence of the metrical form upon the diction.

The commentator must distinguish between two classes of phenomena: (a) words or phrases of such prosodic character that they could never stand in the iambic trimeter, if conjoined with the article; and (b) instances in which a variation in prose usage offered to the poet the choice of two phrases, practically equivalent in meaning, of which he might on occasion find only one to be metrically suited to his verse.

With these fundamental principles in mind, the question may now be considered: Did Menander, the writer of verse so closely imitative of the speech of the common people, by a *tour de force* ever omit the article for the sake of meter alone? The only systematic treatment of this subject in the broad field of comedy and tragedy is that of Sachtschal, *De comicorum Graecorum sermone metro accommodato*, diss. Breslau (1908), 27-35. As many of his illustrations are drawn from Menander, it will be convenient perhaps to follow his general method of presentation, without committing ourselves thereby as to the accuracy or inaccuracy of his conclusions.

Proper names form the first class which Sachtschal considers. Though he cites no passages from Menander I have noted in our author certain apparent exceptions to the rules which govern the use of the article with proper names:

E. 585                   τραγικὴν ἔρῳ σοι ῥῆσιν ἐξ Αὐγῆς ὄλην.

In the citation of the names of dramas, usage varied. The article was always used in Aristophanes, cf. *Ran.* 855, 863 f., *Ach.* 555 (Fuller, *De articuli in antiquis Graecis comoediis usu*, diss. Leipzig [1888], 38), and generally in Aristotle. The Alexandrians, however, as the scholia, the lexicons, and the florilegia show, preferred to omit the article. Demos. 19. 246; Arist. *Rhet. ad Alex.* 19. 1433 b; and Arist. *Poet.* 1. 1447 b 21 (Bywater); 16. 1455 a 2, 4; 18. 1456 a 2; 24. 1460 a 31, 32, 35, are sufficient examples to show that the article was sometimes omitted in prose even as early as Menander. The poet therefore had two forms which he might use according to the convenience of his verse. Since the longer form was unmetrical, bringing together four long syllables, Menander here took the permitted alternative and omitted the article. The use of the article without the preposition (i. e. τῆς Αὐγῆς) would have necessitated a complete recasting of the verse, in addition to the resulting confusion between *Auge* the drama and Auge the person. The poet avoided this form as metrically inconsistent and logically disadvantageous.

E. 234, 255, 260:                   | Ταυροπο|λίῳς|                   cf. 300,

but E. 442, 579:                   | τοῖς Ταυ|ροπολί|οις.

Kühner-Gerth II 1. 600 says: "Die Namen von Festen entbehren, insofern sie schon an sich bestimmt, des Artikels." So also in inscriptions, of the classical period. In later inscriptions, e.g., IG. II 466 (II. cent. B.C.), 467 (I. cent. B.C.), the article occurs "without apparent reason," says Meisterhans-Schwyzler, 228 f. I suspect that even at an earlier period, the usage of the spoken language varied. Menander's departure from the rule laid down by the grammarians may be paralleled by Aristophanes' indiscriminate use and omission of the article with the name of the "Thesmophoria": with the article, *Ecl.* 223, *Thesm.* 182, 377; without the article, *Av.* 1519, *Thesm.* 80. This is another instance of the poets' accommodating a phrase to the demands of their verse without departing from the usage of prose.

Pk. 379 ἄγριον καλύψαι πέλαγος Λιγαίας ἁλός.

348. 1 K. ἥκει λιπὼν Λίγαϊον ἁλμυρὸν βάθος.

These verses are adapted from tragedy (Eur. *Tro.* 88 and 1, respectively), which omitted the article more freely than did the popular speech (Kühner-Gerth II, 1.640). Hence the violation of the rule that the names of seas should take the article<sup>1</sup> is not surprising.

The next class discussed by Sachtschal are supposed instances of the omission of the article, *metri causa*, with the oblique cases of ἄνθρωποι, or πάντες ἄνθρωποι. From Menander he cites:

798 K. μόνος ἔστ' ἀπαρηγόρητον ἀνθρώποις ἔρως.

669. 2 K. λαμπροί, τὰ δ' ἔνδον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἴσοι.

775 K. τὸ μὴδὲν ἀδικεῖν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πρέπει.

It is scarcely necessary to add to this list other instances, which may be easily found in Jacobs' *Ind. com. dict.* But the omission of the article from this phrase is not peculiar to Menander or even to poetry. The very passages which Sachtschal cites from Thucydides show that the article was omitted with nearly as much freedom in prose; the article used: 1. 21. 2, 141. 5; 2. 6. 2, 8. 4, 48. 2, 54. 3, 3. 39. 4, etc.; the article omitted: 1. 1. 2, 93. 6; 2. 54. 1, 64. 3; 4. 34. 2, etc. One would indeed expect such omission in general statements. It is difficult at times for us to determine where the Greeks drew the line between the general and the specific with such class words as ἄνθρωποι, save in so far as the very presence or omission of the article gives us a clue. As for πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, Menander was not compelled by metrical considerations to omit the article, as is clearly shown by the two passages which are cited by Sachtschal, 29 n. 3:

408 K. ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἀρετῆς καὶ βίου διδάσκαλος  
ἐλευθέρου τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγρός;

668 K. πολλῶν φύσει τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κακῶν  
ὄντων μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἡ λύπη κακόν.

The difference in meaning between πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, though clear, was of minor importance. The first

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kühner-Gerth, II 1. 600; Kallenberg, *Der Artikel b. Namen v. Ländern, Städten, u. Meeren in der gr. Prosa*, Phil. XLIX (1890), 545.



form was metrically unallowable. The poet used the other two forms as suited his convenience. Thus it came about that he preferred the second of the three forms; but in omitting the article *metri causa* he did not violate the practice of prose.

Sachtschal notes next the omission of the article in oaths. As I have shown in my chapter on the *Oaths in Menander*, pp. 36, 9, the article may be omitted only from the following oaths which his characters use:  $\nu\eta$  ( $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ )  $\Delta\iota\alpha$ ,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  ( $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ )  $\Delta\iota\alpha$ ,  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  ( $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ )  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$ . I there noted further that this same variation occurs in prose. Of course there is a theoretical difference between the forms where the article is used and those in which it is omitted. The article accompanying the name of a god should, as the grammarians tell us (cf. Kühner-Gerth II 1. 600), add emphasis or give definite reference to well-known rites or cults. But from these three oaths the article was omitted in prose and in common speech, not for the sake of any fine distinctions in meaning, but because these oaths were used the most frequently (cf. Blass, RhMus. XLIV [1889], 11). For that reason they had lost much of their character as oaths and had become little more than asseverative adverbs. As for the poets, they took advantage of that very variation to choose whichever form was better adapted to their verse.<sup>2</sup> So among the examples that Sachtschal cited from Menander, in H. 14 (where, however, Leo added  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  *metri causa*, cf. Capps) and S. 88, the omission of the article might be considered a matter of mere convenience. But in

E. 15                      μὴ καταφρονήσης, πρὸς θεῶν

S. 107 τὸν ἀσεβῆ. μή, πρὸς θεῶν,

E. 543                    θαυμαστὸν οἶον, πρὸς θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων.

(as also 600 K., 562, Kn. 18, cf. pp. 4, 5), the omission of the article was a metrical necessity, since its use as a modifier of  $\theta\epsilon\omega\nu$  would have brought together four long syllables, a combination forbidden in the iambic trimeter. On E. 543, Saechtshal might have noted the similar objection to the use of the article with  $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\acute{o}\nu\omega\nu$ . In all these cases, as in

E. 183 τοῦ δεσπότου 'στί, νή τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ θεούς,

the omission of the article, though immediately occasioned by met-

<sup>2</sup> Meinhardt, 21, notes that unelided  $\nu\eta$   $\Delta\iota\alpha$  in Arist. and the other comic poets almost always occurs at the end of verses or sentences. So also in Menander, three out of four times. The oath, in other words, is a convenient verse-tag.

rical convenience or necessity, was in harmony with the usage of prose, as I have already shown.<sup>3</sup>

It will be noted that, apart from oaths and other formal phrases such as *σὺν θεοῖς* 399 K., *θεοῖς ἐχθρός*<sup>4</sup> Pk. 78, 104, and *ἐκ θεῶν* S. 257, Menander preferred to use the article with *θεός*, except where it was intentionally indefinite and general. So, without the article, Sophrona's despairing cry, E. 434, echoed in 453: "Is there any god in Olympus or anywhere who might pity us?" But with the article: E. 544, 549, 552, S. 171, 184, 269, G. 8, 44, Kl. 26. The article seems to limit the word definitely to the members of the Greek *pantheon*. As to the fragments in CAF., the evidence is not so conclusive, because of the difficulty in ascertaining the exact coloring of each passage. I have noted the use of the article: 209. 1, 235. 1, 449, 129. 2, 319. 2, etc.; and its omission: 223. 1, 585. 2, 609. 1. It is possible that in some of these passages metrical convenience may have had a slight influence. There is, however, no adequate proof of it.

On p. 30 Sachtschal discusses passages in which the article is omitted with nouns governed by prepositions. The principle involved is stated thus by Kühner-Gerth, II, 1. 605 f.:

"Ungemein häufig ist die Weglassung des Artikels in der Verbindung mit Präpositionen, weil alsdann der Ausdruck einen adverbialen Charakter annimmt und die Gegenstände weniger bestimmt hervortreten."

In purely adverbial phrases, the use of the article is avoided because the idea is indefinite. Menander furnishes many examples: *δι' ἀνάγκην* 604 K.; *ἐξ ἀνάγκης* S. 266; *διὰ κενῆς* S. 260, 327; *ἐν κύκλῳ* Pn. 10, 22, Ph. 54; *ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς* Pk. 148; *καθ' ἡμέραν* E. 545, 301. 2 K., 325. 13, 554. 1; *κατὰ κράτος* Pk. 198, 229, 407; *κατὰ λόγον* E. 235, Ki. 85, 819 K., 588, 319. 6; *κατὰ σχολήν* E. 321, 448, Pk. 39; *κατὰ τρόπον* Pk. 242, 243, 248. 1 K.; *πρὸς βίαν* S. 214, Pk. 186, Kl. 69; *πρὸς ἡμέραν* (?) J. II. 13; *ὑπὸ νύκτα* G. 7. In other cases the article is omitted in such phrases because of the general, abstract, or formal character of the expression. Thus: *δι' ὀργήν* Ki. 59; *ἔλθης εἰς λόγους* Pk. 251; *εἰς ὀργήν* Pk. 43; *εἰς τροφήν* H. 28; *εἰς τρυφήν* 285 K.; *ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ* S. 25; *πρὸς πολιορκίον* Pk. 233. Lastly there are prepositional phrases, where it is conceivable so far as the sense of the passage is concerned that the article might have been used. Most of these, however, are conventional phrases from which the

<sup>3</sup> See in addition the discussion of *Amplificatio*, p. 7. For the omission with the second of a series of coördinated substantives, see p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Leo, *Herm.* XLIII (1908), 146 n. 4.

article is usually omitted in prose: ἄμ' ἡμέρα 364 K.; ἀφ' ὑπερώου S. 17; εἰς αὐριον E. 162; εἰς δόξαν βλέπων E. 487; εἰς δέοντά μοι πάνν καιρόν S. 294, cf. ἦκω τυχῆς εἰς καιρόν οἰκείας Pk. 354; εἰς καλόν S. 65; εἰς (ἐς) κόρακας S. 138, 155, Pk. 206, J. II. 24, 971 K.; εἰς μακαρίαν (?) E. 389; εἰς οἶκον Pk. 290; ἐν νυκτί E. 35; ἐν οὐράνῳ 209 K.; ἐκ παντός λόγου G. 72; ἐπὶ γήρως δόῳ 671 K.; κατὰ θάλατταν Ki. 46, 488 K.; πρὸς Ἑρμαῖς Ki. 65.

With certain words the article is always omitted: δι' ἀγορᾶς 494 K.; εἰς ἀγοράν 962 K.; ἐν ἀγορᾷ Kl. 48, 302. 4 K.; πρὸς ἀγοράν Ki. 49, 64; and εἰς ἀγρόν G. 76, Ki. 56; ἐν ἀγρῷ G. 4, 406. 2 K.; ἐξ ἀγροῦ Pk. 174, G. 18, 32, Ki. 54. See also examples of ἄστυ, *infra*. With certain other words it is always used. Thus with words that refer to certain definite parts of the stage-setting: ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας S. 89; πρὸς τὴν θύραν G. 26, 558 K.; πρόσθε(ν) τῶν θυρῶν S. 142, 190, Pk. 109; πρὸς ταῖς θύραις E. 462, J. I. 19, 420 K., 830. And in certain idiomatic phrases, such as, εἰς τὰ λοιπά S. 291; εἰς τὸ μέλλον Pk. 223; ἐνεκα τοῦ μέλλοντος Pk. 43.

But in still other prepositional phrases, there is a variation in usage: ἐν τῶν γειτόνων Ph. 13; but ἐν γειτόνων Pk. 27, 853 K., cf. ἐν ἑαυτοῦ S. 125; ἐκ τοῦ μέσου S. 144, but ἐκ μέσου Pk. 133, 250 K.; ἐν τῷ μέσῳ S. 150, but ἐν μέσῳ S. 256, with which compare ἀνὰ μέσον 531. 18 K.,<sup>5</sup> εἰς μέσον S. 55, Pk. 272; ἐκ τῆς πόλεως S. 283, 395 K., and ἐν τῇ πόλει S. 175, but κατὰ πόλιν 466. 4K., 474, and εἰς πόλιν E. 245, cf. κατ' ἄστυ, 97 K., ἐξ ἄστυς E. 361, ἐν ἄστει G. 79, 405. 1 K.; ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς (specific) 23. 4 K., but πρὸς ἡδονήν (abstract) Ph. 38; εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν S. 304, 537. 5 K., 420. 3, but εἰς οἰκίαν 582. 2 K., 202. 2, and ἐν οἰκίᾳ 874 K., cf. p. 32. In many of these cases it is possible to detect a slight difference in meaning between the longer and the shorter forms, but the prevailing motive for the variation seems to be metrical convenience, not to say metrical necessity.

Sometimes the article is retained in prepositional phrases, where we might expect its omission. Thus

E. 290

ἕτερα μυρία

ἐν τοῖς πότοις τοιαῦτα γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ.

The use of τοῖς is remarkable, since the reference seems to be very general, however, the article seems to suggest the expansion: τοῖς πότοις τοῖς τῶν νεανιῶν. A possible parallel to this is found in the unmetrical line

<sup>5</sup> ἀνὰ μέρος Nauck.

S. 178

μόνας ἑταῖραι τρέχουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα καὶ

where the prepositional phrase might be expanded to ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει cf. Antiph. 229 K. Leo, *GöNachr.* (1907), 333 defended the retention of the article, feeling that it was by no means superfluous, but the reading he proposed involves an objectional over-lapping anapest (+ ∪, ∪, - +) in the fifth foot (White). Mazon, *RPhil.* XXXII (1908), 72, thought to find a parallel in ps.-Demos. 59. 33 *κάπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα ἔχων αὐτὴν πανταχοῖ ἐπορεύετο ὅπου πῖνοι*, but here the article is anticipatory of the following relative clause, cf. Kühner-Gerth, II 2. 400 f. Inasmuch as the ms. reading is corrupt, and *τά*, though capable of logical interpretation, is not essential to the understanding of the passage, and no satisfactory emendation has been suggested which involves its retention, I prefer following Croiset and Capps to read:

μόνας ἑταῖραι διατρέχουσ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνα καὶ

It may be noted that there is a similar uncertainty of reading Xen. *Mem.* 3. 14, *ὁπότε δὲ τῶν συνιόντων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον* where some mss. give *τὸ δεῖπνον*.

Sachtschal, 33, cites examples from Menander in which the article, needed to convey the idea of possession, is omitted.

806 K.

δίκας γραφόμενος πρὸς γονεῖς μαίνει, *τάλαν*.

520. 1 K.

*μήτηρ τέθνηκε ταῖν ἀδελφαῖν ταῖν δυοῖν  
ταύταιν' τρέφει δὲ παλλακὴ τις τοῦ πατρὸς  
αὐτάς, ἄβρα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν γενομένη.*

Pk. 74

*τοῦτ' ἔστι μήτηρ· ὁ τρόφιμος ζητητέος.*<sup>6</sup>

The last passage may be disposed of in a word: *μήτηρ* is general and not specific, "That's a mother," cf.

367 K.

*τοῦθ' ἑταῖρός ἐστιν ὄντως.*<sup>7</sup>

The other two passages are more perplexing. In both instances, as in many of those cited by Sachtschal from other comic poets, the substantives that are unmodified by the article are nouns denoting relationship. Says Kühner-Gerth, II 1. 604 d.:

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Leeu., Capps.<sup>7</sup> Cobet, N. L. 70 (approved by Blaydes, *Adver.* II 217), condemned this as non-Greek. It is Menandrian anyway.



"Der Artikel fehlt zuweilen bei verwandtschaftlichen und ähnlichen Benennungen, bei denen die Beziehung von selbst klar ist, als πατήρ, μήτηρ, πάππος, υἱός, ἀδελφός, γονεῖς, παῖδες, ἀνήρ, Ehemann, γυνή, Ehefrau, u. a. (doch nicht, wenn von einzelnen bestimmten Individuen die Rede ist)."

Examples of such omission of the article in CAF. are so numerous that I need not give examples. If 806 be a general statement, as it may be, then there is nothing in the omission of the article to excite comment. However, it is almost certain that we should read τοῦς for πρὸς. Blaydes, ad Arist. *Vesp.* 894,<sup>8</sup> has shown that the normal construction after γράφομαι is the direct object of the person indicted, cf. Arist. *Vesp.* 894, 907; Pl. *Euthyp.* 2 b, *Apol.* 19 b, *Legg.* 6. 754 e; Xen. *Mem.* 4. 8. 4; Demos. 18. 251, 59.52; Aesch. 1. 1; Luc. *Men.* 2. But in 520. 1, there is no reason to doubt the text, and it is evident that the substantive refers to a very definite individual (cf. Blaydes). Examples of the same phenomena may be found in

494. 2 K. Μοσχίων, μήτηρ ἑώρα τῆς κόρης ἐφ' ἄρματος.<sup>9</sup>

403. 6 K. ἅπασιν δ' ἀργαλέα 'στίν, οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ,  
νιῶ πολὺν μᾶλλον, θυγατρί.

Unfortunately, I have been unable to find parallels to such usage either in prose, or in the "new" Menander. Fuller, 57, brings as examples from Aristophanes:

*Lys.* 882 ἔγωγ' ἐλεῶ δῆτ'· ἀλλ' ἀμελὴς αὐτῷ πατήρ  
ἔστιν.

*Ran.* 1149 οὕτω γ' ἂν εἴη πρὸς πατρός τυμβωρύχος.

The second is a formal prepositional phrase, from which we might expect the article to be omitted. As to the first, I am not certain but that it should be rendered: ". . . but he has a neglectful father." However, if it is to be rendered: ". . . but his father is neglectful," then the parallel is certain. Notice that the speaker is the wife of the person described.

Assuming that the text is correct in 494. 2 K. and 403. 6,<sup>10</sup> as well as in 520. 1, one is compelled to suppose either an omission of the article

<sup>8</sup> See also *id. Adver.*; Herwerden, *Collect. crit.*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Blaydes.

<sup>10</sup> 403 K. is from the notoriously corrupt *Plocium*, quoted by Aul. Gell. 494 (Phot., Suid. s.v. πέμπειν) has also required treatment; cf. Bentley, Kock.

*metri causa*, contrary to the usage of prose—an hypothesis which is very improbable, especially as in these verses the article could have been used without very violent change of the lines—, or to assume that here we have evidence for the omission of the article from terms of relationship in colloquial speech. The latter assumption seems very probable to me. The speaker in 403. 6 K., is the father speaking of his own children. 494. 2 K., the speaker addressing Moschion, omits the article when referring to Moschion's mother. 520. 1, the speaker apparently in a prologue, may be closely related either by blood or affection to those of whom he is speaking: possibly he is a guardian spirit like Agnoia of the *Periceironene* or Lar Familiaris of Plaut. *Aulularia*. But more probably like the customary speaker of the prologue he is under the influence of the "tragic style," to which the omission of the article is normal. In modern tongues, it is customary to omit all demonstratives or possessives in speaking of one's nearest kin, unless it is desired to make a contrast with the relatives of another. The common nouns become the practical equivalents of proper names. For ancient Greek usage, conclusive evidence is lacking, but there is nothing in the spirit of the language, it seems to me, which would make improbable such an hypothesis.

This hypothesis is confirmed by a very striking passage, in which the article is omitted from the ancient Greek equivalents of *master* and *mistress*. The metrical objections to the use of the article might have been avoided by a slight and easy recasting of the verse. Other reasons for the omission must, therefore, be sought.

Pk. 72

πάμπολλ'. ἐπαινῶ διαφορῶς κεκτημένην.

The word *κεκτημένη* is so rare that the unknown commentator in Bekk. *Anecd.* 102. 20 (cf. Schol. Luc. *Dial. meretr.* 9. 1) felt called upon to explain it. I have noted its use in the following passages, always with the article: H. 37 (cf. Capps, article required by presence of personal pronoun, τῆς ἐμῆς *κεκτημένης*), Arist. *Eccl.* 1126, Plutarch (a passage I have been unable to find save as it is quoted by Stephanus *Thes.*), Soph. 695. 2 N., Luc. *As.* 11, 27; cf. ὁ *κεκτημένος*, Eur. *I. A.* 715, Arist. *Pl.* 4; and οἱ *κεκτημένοι*, Aesch. *Supp.* 337, Plut. *Vit. Nic.* 29. The omission of the article in Pk. 72 was noticed first by Leo, Herm. XLIII (1908), 146. δὴ σφόδρα τὴν *κεκτημένην* Herwerden, was rejected by Schmidt, Herm. XLIV (1909), 411 n. 2, who noted a possible parallel for the ms. reading in

Pk. 169

εἰ μὴ γε παντάπασιν αὐτὸν ἡλέουν,  
κακοδαίμον' οὕτω δεσπότην. οὐδ' ἐνύπνιον·

Here Headlam's restoration is confirmed by Jensen.<sup>11</sup> Another suggested parallel is:

Arist. *Ran.* 750                      καὶ παρακούων δεσποτῶν  
    ἄττ' ἂν λαλῶσι;

At least Fuller, 53, considers the noun to be definite in its application; but it seems to me a case of the general shading into the particular.

In all these three passages, it will be noted that a slave is speaking of his own master or mistress. Both the passages from Menander come from monologues. Here again, it seems to me, the hypothesis may be advanced that the usage reflects the language of the household. The slaves affectionately and familiarly, it may be presumed, omitted the article with the title of *master* or *mistress*, especially when speaking in the privacy of the home or of their own thoughts. When speaking of another's master or to a slave who belonged to a different estate, the use of the article would, in most instances, be essential to clearness.<sup>12</sup>

It is important while treating the omission of the article with terms of relationship that refer to definite individuals, not to include cases in which the omission is due to the position of the substantive in the predicate. In many of these examples in Menander a possessive pronoun limits the noun to a definite individual. It chanced that Procksch, *Ueber dem Gebrauch des Artikels, insbesondre beim Prädicat*, Phil. XL (1881), 1 ff., cites no exact parallels to this usage, but the general principle which he establishes no doubt holds good in this particular class of cases.

- E. 323                                      τοῦ γὰρ παιδίου  
    μητέρα σε νομίσας
- G. 59    οἶονεὶ  
    νομίσας ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα πορίσας· . . .<sup>13</sup>
- E. 319                                      ἂν δ' ἐξετασθῇ ταῦτα καὶ φανῇ πατήρ  
    ὧν οὗτος αὐτοῦ.
- E. 231    πατέρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδίου  
    αὐτὸν ποῶ σχεδόν
- Pk. 237                                      εἰ μὲν τι τοιοῦτ' ἦν, Πολέμων, οἶόν φατε  
    ὑμεῖς τὸ γεγονός, καὶ γαμετὴν γυναικὰ σου ———

<sup>11</sup> Körte, BSG. LX (1908), 105, questioned the reading because of the omission of the article.

<sup>12</sup> The theory advanced is essentially that of Capps, ad Pk. 142, 144 (72, 74 Kör). Cf. Sud., Herm. XLVI (1911), 145.

<sup>13</sup> Though the papyrus is badly broken, the construction seems certain.

S. 60

ἐπειδὴν τὴν λέγουσαν καταμαθῶ  
τίτθην ἐκείνου πρῶτον οὔσαν,

Pk. 10

δίδωσι τὴν κόρην ὡς θυγατέρα  
αὐτῆς ἔχειν.

In E. 475, the article would be omitted in any case, since the substantive is indefinite:

αὐτὸς γεγονώς τε παιδίου νόθου πατὴρ  
οὐκ ἔσχον, οὐδ' ἔδωκα συγγνώμην πάρων

So E. 251 εἰ τρόφιμος ὄντως ἐστὶ σου, where τρόφιμος is both indefinite and predicate. But in E. 562, the omission of the article is due to an entirely different reason:

ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγεῖν παρ' ἀνδρὸς αὐτοῦ<sup>14</sup> θυγατέρα  
ἀγαθὸν σὺ κρίνεις, Σμικρίνη;

αὐτοῦ is to be construed with θυγατέρα: "One's own daughter." The omission of the article both with θυγατέρα and ἀνδρὸς is due to the general nature of the question. Onesimus suggests a general principle, which Smicrines is at liberty to apply to his own situation (cf. Capps). For the form of expression see, Thucy. 6. 59. 3 Αἰαντίδῃ τῷ παιδί θυγατέρα ἑαυτοῦ . . . ἔδωκεν, 8. 87. 1 τῇ στρατιᾷ προστάξειν ἔφη Ταμῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑπαρχον, Isae. 8. 1 τοῦ γὰρ ἡμετέρου πάππου Κίρωνος οὐκ ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς ἐκ θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γυνθείας παῖδας αὐτῷ καταλελοιπότες, IG. II 54 b 11 (363 B. C.) εἶναι δὲ Ἀστυκρ[άτην Ἀθηναίων κα]ὶ ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ.

<sup>14</sup> So Leo, Ell. παρανδροσσαντου ms. παρ' ἀνδρὸς σοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Crois., unmetrical. αὐτοῦ Nic.: "sans delai, sur-le-champ, sans autre forme de procès," possible. σαντοῦ παρ' ἀνδρὸς Head., παρ' ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς θυγατέρα Harb., objectionable since the substantive, referring to a definite individual, unless it is predicate, must take the article. Thus

E. 526 τὸν χρηστὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα

E. 105 εἰς δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν

E. 539 ἐπὶ τὴν προῖκα καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα

E. 524 προπετῶς ἀπάγω τὴν θυγατέρ'

H. 35 ἐλθὼν ἀγαγὼν τε τὴν ἀδελφὴν

E. 499 πρὸς τὸν πατέρα

E. 505 τῆς γαμετῆς γυναικὸς ἐστὶ σου

etc. παρ' ἀνδρὸς αὐτοῦ, Bod.-Maz.: "aux mains mêmes de son mari," possible.



On p. 33, Sachtschal cites among the examples of the omission of the article *metri causa* from substantives that are definite:

544. 2 K. ὅταν φάγωσ' ἰχθὺν ἐκεῖνοι, διὰ τινὰ  
αὐτῶν ἀκρασίαν τοὺς πόδας καὶ γαστέρα  
οἰδοῦσιν.

As the author points out, the article before *γαστέρα* would bring together four long syllables. However, as Blaydes noted, the line is corrupt and unmetrical: for *ἀκρασίαν* (= "mixture") has a long antepenult. The line cannot be considered as evidence in our discussion, therefore. But even if we assume that the article is omitted in this line, the reason for its omission is not metrical necessity but another principle which is frequently illustrated in prose as well as poetry. Kühner-Gerth in their excellent discussion of the article apparently fail to recognize it, but Fuller, 62 f., recognizing the phenomenon in Aristophanes, has clearly stated the principle thus:

"Si duo vel plura nomina coordinata aequam vim habent in sententia, A. articulus semper fere primo nomini additur, cum cetera eo careant. . . . Ita cum adiectivis loco nominis usitatis . . .," etc.

That it is a common practice in prose is shown by an indefinite number of examples. The following are taken at random from three different writers: Thucy. 1. 1 τὸν πολεμὸν τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, Pl. *Rep.* 2. 361c τῶν δωρεῶν τε καὶ τιμῶν ἕνεκα, 2. 364a ἡ σωφροσύνη τε καὶ δικαιοσύνη, Xen. *Anab.* 1. 5. 7 ὁ Κῦρος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτοις. Instances are very common in Menander, especially with two adjectives that refer to the same thing or things:

- G. 56 οἱ μὲν οἰκέται καὶ βάρβαροι<sup>15</sup>  
E. 86 τὰ δέραια καὶ γνωρίσματα<sup>16</sup>  
E. 139 τοῦ βοηθοῦντος δὲ καὶ  
ἐπεξίουτος  
E. 120 οἱ τηλικούτοι καὶ τοιοῦτοι τῷ γένει  
S. 63 εἰς τὴν ἀγαπῶσαν αὐτὸ καὶ βεβιασμένην  
S. 129 τὸν εἰς ἅπαντας κόσμιον καὶ σώφρονα

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Kaibel, *GöNachr.* (1898), 158 n. 11.

<sup>16</sup> Not a case of hendiadys, for *γνωρίσματα* includes *δέραια*; cf. Leeu., *Crois.*, Capps.

Pk. 52                      ὁ σοβαρὸς ἡμῖν ἀρτίως καὶ πολεμικός  
and 563. 3 K., 664. 1, etc.

But there are passages in which the two substantives refer to different things, though they are part of a larger, general class:

129. 6 K.                      οἱ δὲ τὴν ὁσφὺν ἄκραν  
καὶ τὴν χολὴν ὅστᾱ τ' ἄβρωτα τοῖς θεοῖς  
ἐπιθέντες.

532. 4 K.                      οὐκ ἐξετάζειν μὲν τὰ μῆδὲν χρήσιμα,  
τίς ἦν ὁ πάππος ἧς γαμεῖ, τήθη δὲ τίς,  
τὸν δὲ τρόπον αὐτῆς τῆς γαμουμένης.

The omission of the article with *τήθη* binds this in a common class with ὁ *πάππος*, in contrast with that which follows.

620. 1 K.                      εὐηθία μοι φαίνεται, Φιλουμένη,  
τὸ νοεῖν μὲν ὅσα δεῖ, μὴ φυλάττεσθαι δ' ἃ δεῖ.

The article is used but once, since the two infinitive phrases form a single concept.

Closely akin to this principle is another stated by Kühner-Gerth, II 1. 604:

“Der Artikel kann wegbleiben, wenn zwei oder mehrere beigeordnete Substantive zu einer Gesamtheit verbunden werden, wie im Deutschen: Weib und Kind, Ross und Reiter u. dgl., wie überhaupt in Aufzählungen.”

Examples of this perhaps in the following instances of hendiadys:

G. 65                      ἀπαλλαγὴς δικέλλης καὶ κακῶν.

E. 235                      παννυχίδος οὔσης καὶ γυναικῶν.<sup>17</sup>

E. 37                      ἐμοὶ  
τί παιδοτροφίας καὶ κακῶν;<sup>18</sup>

This ends the list of Menandrian passages which are cited or immediately suggested by Sachtschal's thesis. There are other passages, however, which must be considered.

Like *θεός*, *ἄνθρωπος*, and terms of kinship, the words *φύσις*, *βίος*, *γένος*, *τρόπος* seem to be used with considerable freedom, with or without the article, the choice depending both upon sense and upon metrical convenience: e.g.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Leeu., Capps.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Leeu.

Pk. 16 τὸν ἀγνοούμενον τ' ἀδελφὸν τῇ φύσει  
and 602. 2 K. and 627 (subject of sentence), E. 583 (Euripidean), E. 105  
(reference very definite); but

Pk. 44 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤγον οὐ φύσει  
τοιούτον ὄντα τοῦτον,

and E. 126, 59. 1 K., 247. 1, 302. 3, 667. 2, 668. 1. With this word the  
preference in Menander is for the forms without the article.

E. 18 κοινὸν ἐστι τῷ βίῳ  
πάντων,

(cf. Capps) and E. 127, 489, 499, G. 66, 177 K., 649, etc.; but

355. K. τὸ σύμφερον τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου βίῳ,  
and 663. 2 K., Pk. 373 (formal phrase, cf. Capps). Menander shows a  
decided preference for the use of the article.

E. 120 οἱ τηλικούτοι καὶ τοιοῦτοι τῷ γένει  
and Ki. 86; but

Pk. 9 τούτου νεανίσκου, γένει Κορινθίου  
ὄντος.

cf. S. 131 οὐδ' εἰ δεκάκις ποητός ἐστι, μὴ γόνῳ,  
ἐμὸς υἱός.

E. 566 τοῦτόν τις ἄλλος, οὐχ ὁ τρόπος ἀπολλύει·  
and E. 553, 560, S. 132, 205, 532. 5 K., etc.; but

602. 3 K. ἡ φύσις μία  
πάντων, τὸ δ' οἰκεῖον συνίστησιν τρόπος.  
and 472. 7 K. (predicate).

Pk. 382 ἀβούλου παντελῶς ἀνδρὸς τρόπον

τρόπον (Kör.) or τρόπου (Capps), followed by a full stop, must be  
construed as an accusative of specification. In this construction the  
omission of the article is apparently unparalleled, cf. τοὺς τρόπους Men.  
235. 4 K., 577, and often elsewhere in comedy, cf. Dunbar and Jacobs  
(also Capps). Since the first part of v. 383 is lacking in the ms. I query  
whether we should not read τρόπον and construe it as an adverbial accu-  
sativewith a genitive to be restored: "like a . . ." ; though  
its position in relation to its genitive would be very queer. I doubt

whether the ms. has been correctly read. It is clear that Menander usually employed the article with this word.

The use in two passages of *οικία* without the article is worthy of comment:

Pk. 152

καταλέλοιπεν οἰκίαν

οὐ φλυάρῳ, τόν τ' ἐραστήν.

J. II. 29

οἶον κίναδος· οἰκίαν ποεῖ  
ἀνάστατον.

The omission of the article in these passages is surprising, as the reference in both cases seems at first sight to be very definite. Elsewhere in Menander, wherever the reference is thus definite, apart from formal prepositional phrases (cf. p. 72) the article is used: ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας S. 137, 167, 402. 3 K.; τῆς οἰκίας, Kl. 76, 403. 2 K.; τὴν οἰκίαν 655. 2 K.; εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν S. 304, 537. 5 K., 420. 3; ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν Pk. 33. In E. 404, Ph. 17, the text is in bad condition, but it seems as if in both there might be further examples of the omission of the article. I am somewhat in doubt as to the proper explanation of these phenomena. Perhaps, *οικία*, a word much in use, acquired the meaning and the usage of the Latin *domus*, or English *home*. However, there does not seem sufficient evidence on which to base such a theory. Furthermore, J. II. 29 is exclamatory: "What a rogue! Breaks up home." (cf. Capps, p. 97). As for Pk. 152, it is very possible that we have there a formal phrase with which may be compared the tragic ἐκλείπει βίον Pk. 373.

E. 171

αὐτὸς σιδηροῦς· γλύμμα ταῦρος ἢ τράγος,

The omission of the article before γλύμμα is justified, not by metrical expediency (though its use would involve four long syllables in succession), but by the highly elliptical and condensed character of Syrus' monologue. As he examines the ring he utters half to himself these comments, overheard by the eaves-dropping Onesimus. His sentences are rather exclamations than statements.

E. 351

νῦν ἐπισφαλῇ

τὰ πράγματ' ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν κεκτημένην  
ταχέως· ἂν γὰρ εὐρεθῇ πατὴρ <ή> κόρη  
ἐλευθέρου μήτηρ τε τοῦ νῦν παιδίου  
γεγονυῖ,

This passage has been a veritable bone of contention. There have been three ways in which it has been considered: (a) Some commentators



(Ellis, Harbertun) have considered *κόρη* as subject, without noticing apparently anything unusual about the omission of the article. (b) Others (Croiset, *L'Arbitrage*, ad l.; Capps) expressed their surprise at its omission, but, in accordance with their feeling for the sense of the passage, have retained *κόρη* as subject. (c) Still others (M(e)y(er), RCr. XLIV [1910], 10; apparently Croiset, J. Sav. [1907], 529 f.),<sup>19</sup> influenced by grammatical rather than logical considerations, have parsed *κόρη* as predicate. Position (a) may be neglected; (b) is certainly the only possible attitude, if one have consideration for the logical sequence of the thought. Since there is a radical change in theme, the subject of *εὐρεθῆ* must be expressed, unless one suppose that the monologue-form allows great liberties in logical relations. To the casual listener *ἡ κεκτημένη* appears to be the subject of the sentence, as it is of the preceding. Only second thought shows that the person now being discussed is "the girl" and not "the mistress." On the other hand, position (c) is unimpeachable from a grammatical stand-point. The subject of the sentence must have the article, unless it is very indefinite. *πάσαισιν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀποδημῶν ἀνὴρ*, Arist. *Lys.* 101 (Capps), is not a convincing parallel, since the statement is general (cf. Blaydes) and *ἀνὴρ* is a term of relationship. Here the subject is very definite (cf. *τὴν κόρην ζητήσομεν* E. 320). So long as *κόρη* is not modified by the article, it cannot be subject, it must be predicate. As for the subject, since it is not expressed, it must be understood. In short, since (b) is the true position from the logical point-of-view, and (c) from the grammatical point-of-view, neither can be the whole truth. To reconcile these two, I have suggested the restoration of the article with *κόρη*.<sup>20</sup> There is no metrical objection to the emendation. According to White, ClPh. IV (1909), 152 f., this form of anapest (υ υ, —) is rare, but is found in Menander in the fifth foot in certain lines, H. 22, E. 69, and in broken lines, Pk. 33, 34, 282 (now certain), S. 89. The further qualification that this anapest must begin with a dissyllabic word in common use is fulfilled in our passage by *πατρός*.

S. 289

*τῷ λόγῳ μόνον,*  
*εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλ', αὐτὸν φοβῆσαι βούλομαι,*

The use of the article, though surprising, is closely paralleled in Thucy.

1. 128. 3. (Πανσανίας) ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἑλλησποντον, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τὰ πρὸς βασιλεία πράγματα πράσσειν. In

<sup>19</sup> Leeu. refuses to decide between the two interpretations.

<sup>20</sup> "Perhaps correctly"—Capps, *crit. app.*

both cases, the article has a possessive force. Translate: "I want to frighten him by what I say, if it's impossible by other means."

There is another fragment where the article might easily be inserted in our text to the improvement of the sense:

546. 2 K.

πέρας γὰρ αὔλειος θύρα  
ἐλευθέρα γυναικὶ νεόμιστ' οἰκίας·

I have suggested αὔλειος for Kock's αὔλειος, inserting the article by crasis. According to Lucius, *De crasi et aphaeresi*, diss. Strassburg (1885), 28,  $\eta + \alpha\nu = \alpha\nu$  in the Attic dialect. The common example is αὐτή, e.g. in Arist. *Nub.* 1184. The article is needed in our passage, since the context demands a definite and not a general application of the meaning of the substantive.

The general conclusion from all this evidence seems to me to be that Menander sparingly, probably never, directly contravened the usage of prose or colloquial language by omitting the article for the sake of his verse, but that he did not hesitate, when that usage gave him a choice, to take whichever form was more convenient metrically.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ASYNDETON.

An ancient work on Style which has come down to us under the name of Demetrius Phalereus expressly recognized asyndeton as a characteristic of the style of Menander. Says the author (*Demetrius on Style*, trans. Roberts, Cambridge [1902], §§193, 194):

"There is no doubt that the disjointed style lends itself better to debate. It likewise bears the name of histrionic, since a broken style stimulates acting. On the other hand, the best 'literary' style is that which is pleasant to read; and this is the style which is compacted and (as it were) consolidated by the conjunctions. This is the reason why, while Menander (whose style is for the most part broken) is popular with the actor, Philemon is the reader's favorite. To show that the broken style suits the stage take the following line (Men. 763 K.) as an instance:

"Thee I received, I bare, I nurse, O dear one.'

Thus disjointed the words will of themselves force a man to be dramatic even in his own despite. But if you employ conjunctions and say: 'I received and bare and nurse', you will at the same time make the line quite lifeless. And what is unemotional is essentially undramatic."

It is unfortunate that we have not sufficient remains of Philemon's comedies to test the interesting comparison which is here made between his style and that of our author. Certain modern critics, notably Benoit,<sup>1</sup> have thought that they could detect this difference in style even in the slight fragments of the two writers that were known prior to the discovery of the "new" Menander. A careful perusal of these fragments

<sup>1</sup> *Essai sur la Comédie de Ménandre* (1854), 179 n. 1. He says in part:

"Ce caractère du style de Philémon, signalé par Démétrius, est encore sensible dans ses fragments: sa phrase volontiers raisonneuse prend la forme serrée et symétrique de l'argumentation; la période se distribue avec une sorte de régularité pédantesque qui rappelle l'art des anciens sophistes. On dirait que c'est par cette roideur savante que le poète tient surtout à distinguer son style de la langue ordinaire; tandis que la langue de Ménandre . . . est libre comme la conversation, rompue, souple, non sans quelque négligence même, assez semblable dans son allure au poète lui-même, que Phèdre nous montre laissant avec une élégante nonchalance flatter les longs plis de sa robe:

Vestitu affluens  
Veniebat gressu delicato et languido."

See also Lubke, *Menander und seine Kunst*, progr. Berlin (1892), 25; Wilamowitz, *NJrkla*. XXI (1908), 59 n. 3.

has made me feel that Benoit's conclusions lack sufficient evidence. This impression has been confirmed by the crude test of a rapid count. The 224 fragments of Philemon, disregarding all that are less than two complete verses in length, make a total of 562 lines. In Menander, 1-462 K., counted in the same way, there are 570 verses. A count of the number of conjunctions used and the instances of asyndeton, results thus:

Philemon, Conjunctions, 278; Asyndetons, 163; Proportion, 58.6 per cent.			
Menander,	302	170	56.2

I do not lay any emphasis on the accuracy of these figures—the count was hurriedly made—but they are sufficiently accurate to confirm my opinion that the evidence does not exist by which a test might be made of the style of the two poets. Pending the discovery of longer fragments of Philemon, any conclusions must be inevitably warped by the accidental character of the fragments preserved.

However, the discovery of the new and longer fragments of Menander has at last given us continuous passages of such length that we can test to a certain degree the statements of "Demetrius" concerning the style of Menander. A study of the new fragments will show that Menander used every form of asyndeton which is recognized by the grammarians (cf. Kühner-Gerth, II 2. 339-347, with bibl.). By *asyndeton* they mean the rhetorical omission of conjunctions between coördinated words, phrases, clauses, or sentences. All instances of this figure they divide into two classes, *real* and *apparent*.<sup>2</sup> In the latter class the asyndeton is not *real* because the component parts of the discourse, though grammatically coördinate, are logically subordinate, the one to the other; or secondly, because the connection is accomplished by some means other than a conjunction, such as a demonstrative pronoun or adverb.

In discussing asyndeton, I shall pass by all forms of broken discourse, as, for example, questions and answers in dialogue, as well as rhetorical questions and answers in the mouth of a single speaker—except when a rhetorical question is so nearly equivalent to a direct statement or ironical criticism that it may be properly joined by connective with the following sentence. Furthermore, parenthetical

<sup>2</sup> This distinction, though convenient, seems the result rather of the logical fancy of modern grammarians than of any intrinsic difference between the two classes of phenomena.



phrases, which are essentially outside of the connected discourse, especially those which have become quite formal, may be properly disregarded in any discussion of asyndeton. Of such phrases there are many examples in our author:<sup>3</sup> *εἰπέ μοι* E. 20, 443, S. 244, 332, Pk. 197, G. 33; *λέγ'* Pk. 210; *σκοπεῖς* Pk. 302; *φησὶν* S. 38; cf. Pk. 280, 168 K., E. 223, 514 K., etc.; *εὖ ἴσθι*, E. 158, Ph. 43; *μανθάνεις* S. 163; *οἷδ'* *ἀκριβῶς* E. 230, S. 255 (?), Pk. 245, cf. E. 521, S. 46; *οἶομαι* Pk. 113, J. II. 37; *ὄρα*s Pk. 142, 261, S. 250; *ἐμοὶ πίστενε* Pk. 218; *ἰκετεύω σε* E. 148, 213, 510, Pk. 260, J. I. 17.

Another class of passages to be disregarded in this present discussion are those clauses in which an adversative or inferential particle seems to take the place of a conjunction: For example, *γοῦν* S. 149, Ki. 62, 67. 4 K., 164. 2, 175. 2; *δὴ* E. 208,<sup>4</sup> 121, S. 237, Pk. 144, 225; *δήπουθεν* S. 302; *εἴτ'* H. 7, 30, E. 251, 270, 289, S. 61, 62, 321, Pk. 305, 232 K.; *ἐνταῦθα* E. 491; *ἔπειτα* Ph. 4; *μέντοι* S. 221; *μήν* S. 288; *οὖν* E. 96, 294; *μέν οὖν* E. 238, 386, Pk. 25, 135, 294, S. 191, 278, G. 29, 235. 6 K.; *οὐκοῦν* E. 77, 144,<sup>5</sup> *τοιγαροῦν* E. 575.

In *apparent* asyndeton the grammarians note first of all cases of logical subordination in which the second clause represents the result of the first. Of this type in Menander:

Pk. 248 *ἐαυτῆς ἐστ' ἐκείνη κυρία·*  
*λοιπὸν τὸ πείθειν τῷ κακῶς διακειμένῳ*  
*ἐρῶντί τ' ἐστίν.*

Pk. 268 *θεώρησον, Πάταικε, πρὸς θεῶν·*  
*μᾶλλον μ' ἐλεήσεις.*

(Cf. Sudhaus, *RhMus.* LXIII [1908], 294 n. 1), and S. 207 a, Pk. 112.

Frequently the second number is an imperative:

<sup>3</sup> References are made to the beginning of the clause or phrase from which the connective is omitted, not to the beginning of the entire passage which may be quoted. Small letters (a, b, c, etc.) indicate which instance (i.e., whether first, second, or third, etc.) in the line is cited.

<sup>4</sup> *δὴ* is not really the connective, but emphasizes the preceding pronoun. For the logical relations, cf. Arnim, *ZöGym.* LVII (1907), 1075 f.:

"Der Satz *μη με δὴ . . . ἀφανίσῃ* ist weitere Ausführung und Begründung von *τῶν πρότερόν μοι μεταμέλει μηνυμάτων*. Der Satz *λέγει γὰρ . . . ἀπολέσαι* gibt die Veranlassung, der Satz *μη με δὴ . . . ἀφανίσῃ* den Inhalt der Befürchtungen, die ihn seine Denunziation bereuen lassen."

<sup>5</sup> With these words Davu s interrupts his monologue to question Smicrines, to whom these words are addressed, as the answer shows; cf. Croiset. Such a shift in the person addressed would in itself justify the asyndeton, cf. p. 97.

E. 191

Χαιρεστράτου  
εἰμ' οἰκέτης· ἢ σῶζε τοῦτον ἀσφαλῶς  
ἢ 'μοὶ δός, . . .

S. 158

ἀλλ' ἔχεις  
τὸ παιδίον, τὴν γραῦν· ἀποφθείρου ταχύ.

S. 332

οὐδὲν κακὸν  
ἐστί σοι· θάρρει,

And E. 356, S. 167, Pk. 50, 200, 275, G. 77, 84. Cf. also p. 98 f.

The first member may express acquiescence, the second, a command, the logical result of that acquiescence:

E. 3

βούλομαι · κρινώμεθα.<sup>6</sup>

Pk. 418

ὁρθῶς γὰρ λέγεις ὃ δεῖ ποεῖν·  
ὃ μάγειρος ἔνδον ἐστί· τὴν ὕν θυέτω.

τὴν ὕν θυέτω is the logical result of v. 417, ὃ . . . ἐστί being parenthetical.

Cf. also Pk. 404.

Closely allied to this is asyndeton in a clause which serves as the summation or conclusion of a preceding discourse:

E. 75

εἶρηκα τὸν γ' ἐμὸν λόγον.

(See Capps.) Cf. E. 135.

E. 126

γαμῶν ἀδελφὴν τις διὰ γνωρίσματα  
ἐπέσχε, μητέρ' ἐντυχὼν ἐρρύσατο,  
ἔσωσ' ἀδελφόν. ὄντ' ἐπισφαλῇ φύσει  
τὸν βίον ἀπάντων τῇ προνοίᾳ δεῖ πάτερ  
τηρεῖν,

S. 196

ἤκουσα καὐτὸς τῶν γυναικῶν ὅτι τρέφεις  
ἀνελομένη παιῶνιον· ἐμβροντησία.

and E. 478. Especially frequent in the second or concluding member is a demonstrative which makes still clearer the summation:

E. 34

ἀνελόμην, ἀπῆλθον οἷκαδ' αὐτ' ἔχων,  
τρέφειν ἔμελλον· ταῦτ' ἔδοξε μοι τότε.

<sup>6</sup> I have followed Körte in the distribution of the rôles in the opening lines of the *Epitrepontes*. For discussion of other possibilities see besides the several editions, Mazon, RPhil. XXXII (1908), 68, and M(e)y(er), RCr. XLIV (1910), 10 f.

E. 39 τοιουτοσί τις ἦν.

E. 137 πάντα τὰ συνεκκείμενα  
τοῦ παιδίου 'στί· τοῦτο γιγνώσκω.

And E. 108, 235, 289, 332, 527, 549, S. 219, 231, 250, 254, 324, Pk. 75, 154, 171, 213, 243, 263, 341, 342, G. 24, 75, 83, Ph. 45, J. II. 1, 65. 3 K., 166. 3, 292. 7.

Sometimes the relation which the demonstrative expresses is not result but mere sequence:

H. 23 ποιμὴν γὰρ ἦν Τίβειος οἰκῶν ἐνθαδὶ  
Πτελέασι, γεγωνῶς οἰκέτης νέος ὧν ποτε.  
ἐγένετο τούτῳ δίδυμα ταῦτα παιδιά.

E. 71 τὸ πέρασ' ἐδωκά σοί τι τῶν ἐμῶν ἐκῶν·  
εἰ τοῦτ' ἀρεστόν ἐστί σοι, καὶ νῦν ἔχε,  
εἰ δ' οὐκ ἀρέσκει μετανοεῖς δ', ἀπόδος πάλιν.

S. 198 (a relative) οὐκ ὠργίζετο  
εὐθύς, διαλιπὼν δ', ἀρτίως· ὃς καὶ φράσας  
εἰς τοὺς γάμους μοι τᾶνδον εὐτρεπῆ ποεῖν  
μεταξὺ μ' ὥσπερ ἐμμανῆς ἐπεισπεσῶν  
ἔξωθεν ἐκκέκλεικε.

E. 532 τὸ τέλμ' εἶδες παριοῦσ'; ἐνταῦθά σε  
τὴν νύκτα βαπτίζων ὅλην ἀποκτενῶ.

And E. 84, 86,<sup>7</sup> 142. 3 K.

There may also be *apparent* asyndeton when the second member gives the reason for the statement in the first. In such clauses γὰρ or ἄρα are the normal connectives if any are expressed.

E. 283 οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην τὸν ἀδικοῦντα πρὶν σαφῶς  
τίς ἐστιν εἰδέναι· φοβοῦμαι τοῦτ' ἐγώ,  
μάτην τι μνηύειν πρὸς ἐκείνας ἃς λέγω.

E. 485 ἀπόλωλα· τὴν θύραν πέπληχεν ἐξιὼν.

S. 124 αὕτη γὰρ ἐστιν αἰτία τοῦ γεγονότος.  
κατέλαβεν αὐτόν που μεθίοντα δηλαδὴ.

<sup>7</sup> Eitrem, BphW. XXVIII (1908), 415, finds the connection in τὰ δέραια as direct continuation and explanation of ἐπὶ τοῦτον (sc. κόσμον) after the parenthesis. I find it rather in οὗτος.

Pk. 209 μέγα τί σοι κακὸν  
δώσω· σὺ τούτων γέγονας αἰτιωτάτη.

E. 185 f. ἀποσφαγείην πρότερον ἂν δήπουθεν ἢ  
τούτω τι καθυφείμην. ἄραρε, δικάσομαι  
ἅπασι καθ' ἓνα· παιδίου 'στίν, οὐκ ἐμά.

Of these three clauses, the second and the third give the grounds for the affirmation in the first.

Other examples: E. 136, 166, 215, 459 a, b, 590 (?), S. 41 b, 335, 341, Pk. 147, 182, 256, 429, G. 19, 29, Ki. 44, 46, 48, 54, 67. 2 K. (?) (note the rapidity of narration), 74. 5, 229. 2.

Frequently the explanatory clause gives an illustration of the statement in the preceding:

E. 109 τεθέασι τραγωδούς, οἷδ' ὅτι,  
καὶ ταῦτα κατέχεις πάντα. Νηλέα τινὰ  
Πελίαν τ' ἐκείνου ; εὔρε πρεσβύτης ἀνήρ  
αἰπόλος,

E. 124 οὐ δὴ καλῶς ἔχει τὸ μὲν σῶμ' ἐκτρέφειν  
ἐμέ τοῦτο, τὴν δὲ τοῦδε τῆς σωτηρίας  
ἐλπίδα λαβόντα Δᾶον ἀφανίσαι, πάτερ.  
γαμῶν ἀδελφὴν τις διὰ γνωρίσματα  
ἐπέσχε, κτλ.

Cf. Hense, BphW. XXIX (1909), 1501.

E. 547 σαφῶς διδάξω σ'· εἰσὶν αἱ πᾶσαι πόλεις,  
ὅμοιον εἰπεῖν, χίλιαι·

So also S. 177, 256, 258, 223 K. *passim*, 302. 4, 322. 7, 9, 534. 3.

The explanation may be in the form of a more or less general aphorism:

Pk. 66 δυστυχὴς  
ἥ τις στρατιώτην ἔλαβεν ἄνδρα· παράνομοι  
ἅπαντες, οὐδὲν πιστόν.

Pk. 429 πάνν σου φιλῶ τὸ "συνδιαλλαχθῆσομαι."  
ὅτ' εὐτύχηκας, τότε δέχεσθαι τὴν δίκην  
τεκμήριον τοῦτ' ἔστιν "Ἕλληνας τρόπου.

Also E. 15, 180, 181, 130. 3 K., 202. 3, 394, and often in CAF.

A demonstrative in the first member may point forward to the reasons to be advanced in the second:



E. 229

τοιουτονί

ἔστιν τὸ πρᾶγμ', ἄνθρωπε· τοῦ μὲν δεσπότου  
ἔστ', οἷδ' ἀκριβῶς, οὐτοσί Χαρισίου·  
ὁκνῶ δὲ δεῖξαι·

Pk. 111

ἀλλ' ἔδειξεν μὲν τι τοιοῦθ', ὥς προσῆλθον ἐσπέρας,  
προσδραμόντ' οὐκ ἔφυγεν,

And E. 80 a, 103, S. 324, J. II. 6, 165. 5 K., 367.

Sometimes a noun serves the same function:

S. 298

ἀνόητόν τε καὶ

εὐκαταφρόνητον ἔργον εἴμ' εἰργασμένος.  
οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν ἔδεια καὶ τὸν δεσπότην  
ἔφυγον.

And E. 296 and

Pk. 174

καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον οὐδέπω λογίζομαι,  
τὸν δεσπότην,<sup>8</sup> ἃν ἐξ ἀγροῦ θᾶπτον πάλιν  
ἔλθῃ, ταραχὴν οἶαν ποήσει παραφανείς.

with which compare 531. 10 K.

Sometimes a demonstrative in the second, the explanatory member, takes up some word, or phrase, or even the entire thought of the preceding:

E. 201

πάντων δ' ἀμελήσανθ', ὥς ἔοικεν, δεῖ δίκας  
μελετᾶν· διὰ τούτου πάντα νυνὶ σφύζεται.

So also 88.2 K., 223. 5, 223. 8, 449, 690.

Sometimes the first member is a question to which no answer is expected, but which is followed by an explanation of the motive in asking the question:

E. 183

προσπαίξεις ἐμοί;

τοῦ δεσπότου 'στί,

341 K.

ᾧ δυστυχής,

τί οὐ καθεύδεις; σύ μ' ἀποκναίεις περιπατῶν.

E. 484, Pk. 156, 198, 247, S. 223, 236, 340, G. 43, 100 K.

A special form of question with demonstrative occurs in the *Samia*:

<sup>8</sup> The scholiast ad Arist. *Pl.* 35 interprets τὸν δεσπότην as περὶ τοῦ δεσπότου (cf. Kretschmar, 106, Capps). It is of course a simple case of prolepsis.

S. 38 τί τοῦτ' ; ἐν τοῖς γάμοις  
τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν μικρὸν οὐ θεραπεύετε;

S. 146 Ἡράκλεις, τί τοῦτο, παῖ;  
μαινόμενος εἰσδεδράμηκεν εἴσω τις γέρων.

S. 190 ἀλλ', Ἡράκλεις, τί τοῦτο; πρόσθε τῶν θυρῶν  
ἔστηκε Χρυσίς ἥδε κλάουσ' ;

And see S. 148.

In still other cases the explanation is given in the second member by means of a more or less rhetorical question:

E. 285 φοβοῦμαι τοῦτ' ἐγώ,  
μάτην τι μνηύειν πρὸς ἐκείνας ἄς λέγω.  
τίς οἶδεν, εἰ καὶ τοῦτον κτλ.

and E. 523, 529, 575, G. 87.

In many cases the verb of the first member is an imperative of entreaty, exhortation, or command:

E. 15 μὴ καταφρονήσης, πρὸς θεῶν. ἐν παντὶ δεῖ  
καιρῷ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπικρατεῖν ἀπανταχοῦ.

S. 230 φεῦγε, Χρυσί, κρείττων ἐστί μου.

And E. 103, 153,<sup>9</sup> 228, 296, S. 166, 244, 332, Pk. 220, 275, G. 40, 124 K.

In E. 13, the second clause is inserted as a parenthesis in the first.

Again, the first member may be exclamatory in character:

E. 143 δεινὴ γ' ἡ κρίσις,  
νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτῆρ' ἅπαρθ' εὐρῶν ἐγῶ  
ἅπαντα περιέσπασμ' ὃ δ' οὐχ εὐρῶν ἄγει.

E. 340 τοπαστικὸν τὸ γύναιον· ὥς ἦσθηθ' ὅτι  
κατὰ τὸν ἔρωτ' οὐκ ἔστ' ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν,  
ἄλλως δ' ἀλίζει, τὴν ἑτέραν πορεύεται  
ὁδόν.

<sup>9</sup> The logical relation between the two clauses is plain, though the second may not have been heard by the departing Smicrines.

And perhaps S. 100 and

- S. 241 ἄρ' ὁ σός με παῖς  
ἐντεθρίωκεν; (*Dem.*) φλυαρεῖς. λήψεται μὲν τὴν κόρην,  
ἔστι δ' οὐ τοιοῦτον.

with which compare E. 243.

In this same general class are to be grouped three passages in which, as before, the second clause gives the reason for the first; but they are so much alike that they are best listed separately:

- H. 3 κακὸν τι, Δᾱέ, μοι δοκεῖς πεποηκέναι  
παμμέγεθες, εἴτα προσδοκῶν ἀγωνιᾶν  
μυλῶνα σαυτῶ καὶ πέδας. εὐδῆλος εἶ.

- S. 238 ἀδικεῖς, Δημέα, με, δῆλος εἶ,  
καὶ τὸ πᾶγμα πᾶν σύννοισθα.

δῆλος εἶ, though parenthetic, is explanatory.

- Pk. 108 τὸ τοιοῦτὶ μέρος  
οὐκ ἀκριβῶς δεῖ φράσαι σοι· κομψὸς εἶ.

The grammarians distinguish from the last mentioned another general class in which the second unit of the discourse elaborates in different words the thought of that which precedes. I have found it difficult to find any certain instance of such a differentiation. Perhaps, however, the following passages might be included in such a category:

- S. 331 εὐτυχεῖς· οὐδὲν κακὸν  
ἔστι σοι·

- Pk. 67 παράνομοι  
ἅπαντες, οὐδὲν πιστόν.

A very natural form of *apparent* asyndeton, especially in the lively dialogue of comedy, involves the repetition by one speaker of the words of the other, either verbatim or in paraphrase. These may be the words which have just been uttered:

- E. 198 αὔριον δέ. (*Syr.*) καταμενῶ,  
αὔριον ὅτῳ βούλεσθ' ἐπιτρέπειν ἐνὶ λόγῳ  
ἔτοιμος.

- Pk. 243 ἀπελήλυθεν δ' οὐ κατὰ τρόπον σου χρωμένου  
αὐτῇ. (*Pul.*) τί φῆς; οὐ κατὰ τρόπον;

So E. 76, S. 155, 331, Pk. 239.

E. 524

νουθετήσεις καὶ σύ με;  
προπετῶς ἀπάγω τὴν θυγατέρ', ἱερόσυλε γραῦ;

It is clear that Smicrines is repeating in anger the suggestions which Sophrone has made to him, though the audience has never heard her words.<sup>10</sup>

The reference may be as obvious, though made to words spoken some time previously: E. 100 Syrisceus echoes *κοινὸς Ἑρμῆς* of Davus, v. 67; E. 453, Habrotonon says *θεῶν τις ὑμᾶς ἠλέησε* in obvious answer to the despairing query of Sophrona, v. 434, *τίς ἂν θεῶν τάλαιναν ἐλεήσειέ με;* (cf. Leo, *Herm.* XLIII [1908], 135 n. 1; Capps) and Moschion, Pk. 363, *ὁμώμοκεν τῇ μητρί*, echoes the words of Glycera, 361, *ἐκεῖνα δ' αὐτῇ μὴ φράσειν ὁμώμοκα*, though not in answer to her but in an "aside." See also E. 113 and E. 46: E. 135 and E. 75 (cf. Hense, *BphW.* XXIX [1909], 1502). Lastly, the speaker may repeat his own words, though after a considerable interval, as E. 182 (cf. E. 177); S. 172, a paraphrase of words uttered six lines previously; and S. 337, an echo of S. 319. E. 77, Syrisceus begins a summary of Davus' speech, which has just been finished.

The repetition of the first or last words of a sentence under the rhetorical figure *anaphora* gives us another form of *apparent* asyndeton, of which Menander is fond, especially in excited discourse. Its use in questions I reserve for later discussion, but many other examples of it may be found:

E. 189

Χαρισίου 'στὶν οὐτοσί' τοῦτόν ποτε  
μεθύων ἀπώλεσ', ὥς ἔφη.

E. 46

τὸ πρᾶγμ' αὐτῷ λέγω,  
ὥς εὔρον, ὥς ἀνείλ' μην.

with which compare E. 113.

Kl. 56 ff.

ὅσας ἀναστάτους  
πόλεις ἐόρακας, τοῦτ' ἀπολώλεκεν μόνον  
ταύτας, ὃ νῦν διὰ τοῦτον ἐξεύρηκ' ἐγώ.  
ὅσοι τύραννοι πώποθ', ὅστις ἡγεμῶν  
μέγας, κτλ.

S. 110

ῶ πόλισμα Κεκροπίας χθονός,  
ῶ ταναὸς αἰθήρ, ῶ ———

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Leo, *GöNachr.* (1907), 325; Bodin, *RPh.* XXXII (1908), 76; Bod.-Maz.; Croiset; Capps.

So also E. 167 ff., where Syriscus goes over the *γνωρίσματα*, one by one, E. 457 ff., where Onesimus declares that his master is mad (cf. p. 19, n. 20); S. 94 f., in a repeated formula of swearing; S. 319 ff., in Moschion's troubled monologue. See also 859 K. Pk. 256, Parmenon's passionate utterance, the poet joins chiasmic order of words with *anaphora*:

Γλυκέρα με καταλέλοιπε, καταλέλοιπέ με  
Γλυκέρα.

In other passages the rhetorical force of the figure seems to be dominant:

E. 554 ff.

οὗτος ἔνδον ἕτερον μὲν κακῶς  
ἐπέτριψεν, ἂν αὐτῷ κακῶς χρήσῃθ' ἐκὼν,  
ἕτερον δ' ἔσωσεν. οὗτός ἐσθ' ἡμῖν θεός,  
ὃ τ' αἴτιος καὶ τοῦ καλῶς καὶ τοῦ κακῶς  
πράττειν ἐκάστω· τοῦτον ἰλάσκει.

As well as E. 566, 154. 2 K., 281. 9, 377.

*Apparent* asyndeton is to be expected also wherever strong opposites are in immediate contrast:

281. 3 K.

οὐδὲ στρεφομένους ἄνω κάτω.

One may expect to find asyndeton whenever the thought is transferred to a new field. As in prose, so in the verse of Menander, the particle *μέν* is often used to introduce such transitions of thought:

E. 480

λοιδορεῖτ' ἐρρωμένως  
αὐτῷ βλέπει θ' ὕφαιμον ἡρεθισμένους.  
πέφρικ' ἐγὼ μὲν,

Pk. 39

τὰ λοιπὰ δ' αὐτὸς εὐροῖτ' ἂν τις εὔ·  
ὃ μὲν ᾤχετ' εἰπὼν ὅτι κατὰ σχολὴν κρινεῖ  
αὐτὴν τί βούλεθ',

As also S. 10, Pk. 157, J. I. 12.

Similarly, important points in a long argument may be added without the use of a connective. E. 70 and Ph. 39 the concluding argument is introduced by the phrase *τὸ πέρας*.<sup>11</sup> But such important transitions may occur without any indication in the language itself:

<sup>11</sup> The conjunction with this phrase is used elsewhere: *τὸ δὲ πέρας* E. 470, *τὸ πέρας δὲ πάντων* E. 316; cf. *τὸ πέρας δ' ἄκουέ μοι* G. 49, but *τὸ πέρας σοι λέγω* Hegessip. 1. 10 K. (Kretschmar, 42). So possibly

Pk. 173.

καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον· οὐδέπω λογιζομαι.



E. 82

ἀληθῇ γὰρ λέγει.  
 ποιμὴν τις ἐξήγγειλέ μοι, πρὸς ὃν οὐτοσὶ  
 ἐλάλησε, τῶν τούτῳ συνέργων, ἅμα τινὰ  
 κόσμον συνενερεῖν αὐτόν.<sup>12</sup>

Asyndeton in parentheses and in interrupted speech is, of course, only *apparent*:

E. 532

οὕτω τί μοι  
 ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο, Σωφρόνη, γάρ, οἴκαδε  
 ἀπιὼν ——— τὸ τέλμ' εἶδες παριοῦσ' ;

E. 580

ταύτην λαβὼν  
 χορῶν ἀποσπασθεῖσαν ——— αἰσθάνει γε;

S. 111

ὦ ταναὸς αἰθέρ, ὦ ——— τί Δημέα βοᾷς;

And H. 39, E. 490, S. 91, Pk. 265. So also Davus' embarrassed words to Moschion,

Pk. 145 f.

τὸ δεῖνα, Μοσχίων, ἐγὼ τότε ———  
 μικρὸν ἔτι μένον.

For the realistic effect of the asyndeton, cf. Körte, BSG. LX (1908), 102.

Asyndeton, on the resumption of a narrative after an interruption, is a natural construction:

H. 27

ὁ τῶν προβατίων ἔνθαδ' ἐπιμελούμενος  
 νυνὶ παρ' ἡμῖν; (Dav.) οὗτος. ὦν ἥδη γέρων  
 ὁ Τίβειος, ὁ πατήρ, εἰς τροφήν γε λαμβάνει  
 τούτοις παρὰ τοῦμοῦ δεσπότου μνᾶν,

and E. 33.

So very possibly

Pk. 338

ὃν καὶ τότε εἶδον. οὐ παρ' αὐτὸν οὐτοσὶ  
 τράγος τις, ἢ βοῦς, ἢ τοιουτὶ θηρίον  
 ἔστηκεν;

<sup>12</sup> Hense, BphW. XXIX (1909), 1501 upholds the ms. with asyndeton against ποιμὴν δὲ Crois., Rob. For the objection to the anapest (∪, ∪, — +) in the second foot, cf. White, ClPh. IV (1909), 157. E. 70, Ph. 39, E. 82 are also examples of asyndeton in lively narrative, cf. p. 100.

Similarly a speaker may interrupt his own monologue with words addressed to some other person or persons. The best example of this is the monologue of Doris, Pk. 64 ff., which is interspersed with repeated calls to the slaves who are tending the door at which she is knocking.<sup>13</sup> With it may be compared the somewhat similar scene, E. 535 ff., where Smicrines raps at the door of Charisius' house. Other examples of interrupted monologue are found in E. 85, 164, 165, 168, 182 (cf. n. 13), 187, G. 39. S. 134, the change is only apparent as the person addressed in the second member is the speaker himself.

292 K.                    σπονδῇ· δίδου σὺ σπλάγχχν' ἀκολουθῶν· ποῖ βλέπεις;  
σπονδῇ· φερ', ὦ παῖ Σωσία· σπονδῇ· καλῶς.

The speaker interrupts the ritualistic procedure to scold the slave.

At other times the speech is interrupted because the person addressed has left the stage and is out of hearing:

S. 143                    παῖ, Παρμένων——ἄνθρωπος ἀποδέδρακέ με  
Pk. 406                    (Pol.) ἀλλ' ὃ δεῖ ποεῖν  
ἄκουσον. (Exit Doris) εἰσελήλυθ' οἶμοι.

In other cases, the person addressed leaves the stage as directed by the speaker, who then continues in a monologue:

S. 319                    (Mos.) τί οὖν  
μέλλεις; (Exit Par.) πρόσσει νῦν ὁ πατήρ.  
S. 337 (Mos.) σπεῦσον, ἐξάγγελλέ μοι τι. (Exit Par.) νῦν πρόσσεισιν.

Or an actor may enter, fail to notice another on the stage, begin a soliloquy, and then, suddenly noticing the presence of the other, turn and address him.

So S. 192                    ἀλλ' Ἡράκλεις, τί τοῦτο; πρόσθε τῶν θυρῶν  
ἔστηκε Χρυσὶς ἥδε κλάουσ'; οὐ μὲν οὖν  
ἄλλη. τί ποτε τὸ γεγονός; (Chry.) ἐκβέβληκέ με  
ὁ φίλος ὁ χρηστός σου. τί γὰρ ἄλλ';

<sup>13</sup> Pk. 68, 70 with 231, E. 147, 182 are cited by Sudhaus, RhMus. LXIV (1909), 421 and n. 3, to prove his theory that the double-point indicates not merely a change of speaker, but a change of person addressed. But probably the double-point, when not indicating an actual change of speaker, is either a strong mark of punctuation, or, in monologues, an indication of the quoted words of an assumed interlocutor. All will agree that it is often carelessly placed in our mss. As to assignment of Pk. 68 c to Sosias, cf. Gerhard, Phil. LXIX (1910), 13 n. 10; Capps, *crit. app.*

In many cases, however, there are no exits or entrances, but the speaker turns rapidly from one person to another:<sup>14</sup>

S. 106 (to Par.) τί “λανθάνειν”; (*servis*) ἰμάντα, παῖδές, τις δότω  
ἐπὶ τουτονί μοι τὸν ἀσεβῆ.

S. 113 (*ipsi*) οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀδικεῖ Μοσχίων σε. (*spectatoribus*) παράβολος  
ὁ λόγος ἴσως ἔστ’, ἄνδρες, ἀλλ’ ἀληθινός.

Thus in S. 237 Demeas turns from a soliloquy to revile Niceratus. In E. 90 Syrus first addresses Davus and then continues his pleading with Smicrines. In S. 156 f., Demeas first takes up Glycera’s words, then makes a little side remark to himself, and then turns again to Glycera with a threat. S. 88, Parmenon, after giving certain directions to Chrysis, then addresses his master.<sup>15</sup> E. 213 and Pk. 61 are interesting as examples of an actor’s addressing remarks on leaving the house to persons inside and then following with a monologue. With these passages Moschion’s entrance, Pk. 276 f., is to be compared: he speaks to persons who are entering the other house on the scene, as he comes out of his own. In such passages as these, it is common enough for the second member to be an imperative of appeal, entreaty, or command. To the examples already given may be added:

S. 169 (*ipsi*) προσιτέον.  
(to Dem.) βέλτισθ’, ὅρα ———

S. 110 (to Par.) ποῖ σύ, ποῖ, μαστιγία;  
(*servis*) λάβ’ αὐτόν.

E. 22 (to both) ἀκούσομαι· τί γὰρ  
τὸ κωλύον; (to Darus) σὺ πρότερος, ὁ σιωπῶν, λέγε.

And E. 147 (cf. n. 13; also Croiset, Capps), S. 143, 230, Pk. 442.

But any imperative, even though addressed to the same person as the previous discourse, is an interruption of the continuity, and may properly be appended without a conjunction:

S. 112 τί βοᾷς, ἀνόητε; κάτεχε σαυτόν.

<sup>14</sup> According to Sudhaus (cf. n. 13), Pk. 231 is another example: he gives (with Rob.) ἀπέρχομαι ff. to Sosias; the prior portion as an address to Polemon, the latter as his parting insult to Habrotonon, but cf. Capps.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Capps. However, Sudhaus following Lef., Wil., assigns S. 83-88 to Demeas; the first part spoken to himself, the second to Chrysis.

E. 135 *εἶρηκα. κρῖνον ὃ τι δίκαιον νενόμικας.*

And E. 445, S. 247, Pk. 369.

A second imperative may be added without a conjunction, though the first may have been joined by such means to the previous discourse:

S. 141 *δακῶν δ' ἀνάσχου, καρτέρησον εὐγενῶς.*

And E. 15, Pk. 260.

Usually, however, neither imperative has a conjunction:

S. 135 *Δημέα, νῦν ἄνδρα χρῆ  
εἶναί σ' ἐπιλαθοῦ τοῦ πόθου, πέπαυσ' ἐρῶν.*

And S. 96, 112, 227.<sup>16</sup>

Akin to entreaties to mortals are prayers to the gods. In the words of Gildersleeve, ad Pind. *Ol.* 9.86, "prayer is always in order, and many asyndeta fall under this head:"

E. 486 *τὴν θύραν πέπληχεν ἱξιῶν.  
Ζεῦ σῶτερ, εἶπερ ἐστὶ δυνατόν, σῶξέ με.*

Curses also interrupt the discourse:

E. 528 *οὐκ ὀξυλαβῆσαι κρεῖττον; οἰμῶξαι μακρά,  
ἄν ἔτι λαλῆς τι.*

As also J. II. 7, 24.

And, likewise, exclamations in general:

S. 207 *δικαίως ἀποθάνοιμ' ἄν. Ἡράκλεις,  
ἡλίκον κέκραγε*

And E. 346, S. 208, Pk. 62 f., 67, 269, 375, 377. G. 43.<sup>17</sup> In all such interruptions of the discourse asyndeton is a figure that effectively reproduces the tone and manner of daily speech and helps to enliven the dramatic action.

There are other cases of asyndeton which are doubtless to be attributed in a similar way to a change in the theme of discourse, where, however,

<sup>16</sup> Also S. 97, according to Körte's text; but Körte without reason neglects the ms., which plainly indicates a change of speaker after *δεῦρ'* (Hense, BphW. XXIX [1909], 366). *ἐρῶ* Capps for *λέγε* Körte gives the sense. S. 313, Jensen reads in ms. *ἀφεις* for *ἄφες* (Lef., Körte). For other imperatives, cf. p. 87 f.

<sup>17</sup> Also E. 543 according to Körte's text, where, however, the assignment of rôles is uncertain. I prefer with Leeu., Capps, to continue Onesimus into 543, leaving to Smicrines only 543 b.





E. 39                    τοιουτοσί τις ἦν. ἐποίμαινον πάλιν  
ἔωθεν. ἦλθεν οὗτος.

Cf. Hense, BphW. XXIX (1909), 1501.

E. 43                    πρότερον δέ μοι συνήθης ἐγεγόνει.  
ἐλαλοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις. σκυθρωπὸν ὄντα με  
ιδών· “τί σύννους,” φησί, “Δᾶος,” “τί γάρ;” ἐγώ,  
“περίεργός εἰμι.”

(Cf. Hensè, *ibid.*) And H. 20, E. 47-52, 53-57, 57-61, 187, 267, 287, 473, 548, S. 8, 29, 158, 167 a, 198, 202 f., 208 f., 219, 319-322, 328, Pk. 35 f., 54, 72-74, 104, 123 f., 273, G. 76, J. II 10, J. I 41-45, Ki. 63.

Sometimes, even when the discourse is not otherwise especially lively, a series of details are thrown together as illustrations of the general principle or act involved. The conclusion of such a series may be formed by a single word, the equivalent of the English *and so forth*:

G. 36                    φέρει γὰρ μυρρ[ίνην, κιττόν] καλόν,  
ἄνθη τοσαῦτα.<sup>19</sup>

or by a phrase descriptive of the entire series:

S. 186 f.                αἷμα γὰρ ἔχει, χολήν ἱκανήν, ὅστ᾽ ἀ καλὰ,  
σπλήνα μέγαν, ὧν χρεῖα ᾽στὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις.

S. 279 f.                καὶ μὴ τοσαῦτ' ἦν ἐμποδῶν, ὄρκος, πόθος,  
χρόνος, συνήθει', οἷς ἐδουλόμην ἐγώ.

But even if such a concluding phrase be omitted, it is frequently latent in the speaker's mind.

G. 60 ff.                    πορίσας φάρμακα  
ἤλειφεν, ἐξέτριβεν, ἀπένιζεν, φαγεῖν  
προσέφερε, παρεμβεῖτο, πάνυ φάυλως ἔχειν  
δόξαντ' ἀνέστησ' αὐτὸν ἐπιμελούμενος.

These are only some of the ways in which the boy cared for Eleaenetus.

<sup>19</sup> The edd. have thought in ἄνθη τοσαῦτα to find evidence that a line has been lost, cf. G.-H., Kaibel, Leeu.; but cf. Blass, Kretschmar. Kretschmar suggests that these words were accompanied by a gesture towards the pile which is to be carried in by the other slave. This theory is by no means impossible, and if accepted, of course destroys the appropriateness of the passage as evidence of the phenomenon which I have under immediate discussion. τοσαῦτα would then refer to something before the eyes of audience rather than to something which has just been described:

S. 12

αὐ δ' ἐβόων ἅμα·  
 "ἄλευρ', ὕδωρ, ἔλαιον ἀπόδος, ἄνθρακας."

Our impression is that Demeas has mentioned only a few of the things for which the women were shouting, but that they are typical of the thousand and one things they required and demanded in preparing for the marriage feast.<sup>20</sup>

And E. 107, 125 f. (cf. Hense l.c.), 344, S. 7, 261 f., Pk. 234, Kl. 55 ff., and many examples in CAF, as 10, 24, 62, 141, 223, 248, 295, 301, 319, 331, 462, 481, 532. 12, 534. 12, 537, 615, 829, 834.

Sometimes in the details which are offered, either in lively narrative or description, or in what I may call an *and-so-forth* series, one fancies one sees a certain climactic order:

E. 480

πέφρικ' ἐγὼ μέν, αὐός εἰμι τῷ δέει·

E. 485

οἴχομαι,  
 ἀπόλωλα.

S. 133

χαμαιτύπη δ' ἄνθρωπος, ὀλεθρος ———

E. 472, 489, S. 203, 205, 337.

Another form of *real* asyndeton recognized by the grammarians is that which results from contrast. This is frequent in Menander:

E. 186

παιδίου 'στίν, οὐκ ἐμά.

E. 566

τοῦτόν τις ἄλλος, οὐχ ὁ τρόπος, ἀπολλύει.

Pk. 340

ἐλαφος, φίλτατ', ἐστίν. οὐ τράγος.

Pk. 107

τῶν ὄλων κατάσκοπος  
 πραγμάτων γενοῦ, τί ποιεῖ, ποῦ 'στιν ἡ μήτηρ, ἐμὲ  
 εἰς τὸ προσδοκᾶν ἔχουσι πῶς· τὸ τοιουτὶ μέρος  
 οὐκ ἀκριβῶς δεῖ φράσαι σοι·

E. 131

τοῦτο γὰρ  
 ἰσχυρὸν οἶεταί τι πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἔχειν.  
 οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον·

<sup>20</sup> This is the *asyndeton enumerativum*. Cicero, *Or. Part.* 15. 53, (cf. Nägelsbach, *Lat. Stylistik*, 582) described its effect thus: "soluta quae dicuntur sine conjunctione ut plura videantur."



Asyndeton in questions was a rhetorical instrument well recognized by Menander, as the number of the instances cited in preceding sections has shown. But the emotional and rhetorical effect of interrogative sentences is especially strong when several are joined together in series without the use of conjunctions. Such questions usually anticipate no answer; the speaker does not pause for an answer, but hurries from one phase of the subject to another, presenting in questions the several problems which are to be considered and solved.

Such a series may be used in a monologue in which the excited speaker discusses his own immediate course of action:

- E. 36 διελογιζόμεν· ἐμοὶ  
τί παιδοτροφίας καὶ κακῶν; πόθεν δ' ἐγὼ  
τοσαῦτ' ἀναλώσω; τί φροντίδων ἐμοί;
- E. 484 καὶ ποῖ τράπωμαί γ'; εἰς τί βουλῆς;
- S. 223 ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγώ, τί δράσω; ποῖ φύγω;
- And Pk. 399, J. I 18.

Charisius reproaches himself through the mouth of his *δαιμόνιον*:

- E. 493 μεγάλα φυσᾶς καὶ λαλεῖς;  
ἀκούσιον γυναικὸς ἀτύχημ' οὐ φέρεις;

Then again, some one else may be encouraged:

- H. 40 τί οὖν; σὺ τί  
πράττεις ὑπὲρ σαντοῦ;

Or the questions may be spoken in surprise:

- E. 8 μικρὸν ἂν σχολάσῃς ἡμῖν χρόνον;  
(Sm.) ὑμῖν; περὶ τίνος;
- S. 194 ὦ 'Ηράκλεις.  
τίς; Δημέας;

And S. 41, 237, Pk. 126 f., J. I 47.

In other instances, the tone being more deliberate, a series of pointed questions suggest rapidly the details of an argument, description, or narration.

- Kl. 50 ff. λέγε, τίν' εἰργάζου τέχνην;  
τοῦτό γ' ἀπόκριναι, πόθεν ἔχεις ταῦτ'; οὐκ ἄπει  
ἐκ τῆσδε γῆς ἐτέρωσε; τί διδάσκεις κακά;  
τί λυσιτελεῖν ἡμῖν ἀποφαίνεις τὰδικεῖν;

Pk. 234 f. δύνασαι τ' ἀναβαίνειν, περικαθῆσθαι. ποῖ στρέφει,  
λακάστρι'; ἥσυχνθης; μέλει τούτων τί σοι;

And especially a series of indirect questions:

Pk. 106 τῶν ὅλων κατάσκοπος  
πραγμάτων γενοῦ, τί ποιεῖ, ποῦ 'στιν ἡ μήτηρ, ἐμέ  
εἰς τὸ προσδοκᾶν ἔχουσι πῶς·

In all these cases, especially where the emotion is notable, anaphora combined with the asyndeton is a common phenomenon:

E. 225 πῶς ἂν οὔν, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,  
πῶς ἂν, ἱκετεύω ———

H. 4 f. τί γὰρ σὺ κόπτεις τὴν κεφαλὴν οὕτω πυκνά;  
τί τὰς τρίχας τίλλεις ἐπιστάς; τί στένεις;

S. 109 ποῖ σύ, ποῖ, μαστιγία;

S. 72 ff. εἰ πυνθάνομαι πόσας τραπέζας μέλλετε  
ποεῖν, πόσαι γυναῖκες εἰσι, πηνίκα  
ἔσται τὸ δεῖπνον, εἰ δεήσει προσλαβεῖν  
τραπεξοποιόν, εἰ κέραμός ἐστ' ἔνδοθεν  
ὕμιν ἱκανός, εἰ τοῦπτάνιον κατάστεγον,  
εἰ τᾶλλ' ὑπάρχει πάντα. ———

And S. 112, 225, 226, G. 85.

Pk. 240 μὴ βόα·  
τίς ἔσθ' ὁ δούς;

The asyndeton is only apparent, since the injunction is parenthetic.

The asyndetic use of participles requires just a word (cf. Kühner-Gerth, II 2. 103 f. with bibl.): It must be remembered that many such instances are only *apparent*.<sup>22</sup> This *apparent* use is perhaps most frequent where of two apparently coördinated participles one agrees with the subject and the other is complementary to the predicate. So with the verb *τυγχάνω*:

S. 14 καὐτὸς διδοὺς τούτων τι καὶ συλλαμβάνων  
εἰς τὸ ταμείον ἔτυχον εἰσελθών,

<sup>22</sup> Only the hasty or careless reader confuses these cases with cases of *real* asyndeton. I cite them for the sake of comprehensive discussion rather than because of any inherent difficulty.



- Pk. 34 ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου δ' ὀφθεῖσ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θρασυτέρου,  
ὥσπερ προείρηκ', ὄντος, ἐπιμελῶς τ' αἰεὶ  
φοιτῶντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἔτυχ' ἐσπέρας  
πέμπουσά ποι θεράπαιναν·

Or with verbs that imply continuance in a state:

- S. 284 ἄλλ' ἀποφθαρεῖς  
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἂν ἐκποδῶν εἰς Βάκτρα ποι  
ἢ Καρίαν διέτριβον αἰχμαζῶν ἐκεῖ.

- Pk. 291 ἄλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἐλθὼν ἐκποδῶν  
ἐνταῦθα κατεκείμεν συνεστηκῶς πάννυ.

- Pk. 219 κάθειδ' ἀπελθὼν, ὦ μακάριε, τὰς μάχας  
ταύτας ἑάσας,

Or the participle may give the means or describe the details of the action of the verb:

- E. 210 μὴ με δὴ διαλλαγείς  
πρὸς τὴν γυναικα τὸν φράσαντα ταῦτα καὶ  
συνειδότ' ἀφανίσῃ λαβῶν.

- S. 5 ὑπερεσπουδακῶς  
τὰ τοῦ γάμου πράττειν, φράσας τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἀπλῶς  
τοῖς ἔνδον ἐκέλευσ'.

And perhaps

- E. 115 f. ἐξ οὗ μαθόντες πάντα τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς σαφῶς  
ἐγένοντο βασιλεῖς οἱ τότε ὄντες αἵπολοι.

- And 354 K. ἐκτεθραμμένος  
οὐκ ἐξ ὑπαρχόντων, ὄρων ἥσχυνετο  
τὸν πατέρα μίκρ' ἔχοντα·

In other cases the asyndeton is only *apparent* because of a logical subordination of one of the participles to the other. So perhaps in Agnoia's remarkable monologue,

- S. 26 ἰδοῦσα δὲ  
τὸ παιδίον κεκραγὸς ἡμελημένον  
ἐμέ τ' οὐδὲν εἰδυῖ' ἔνδον ὄντ', ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ  
εἶναι νομίσασα τοῦ λαλεῖν, προσέρχεται

*ἰδοῦσα* is circumstantial (temporal), *εἰδυῖ'* is causal, *νομίσασα*, though causal, is more closely connected with the verb.

- E. 287                    τίς οἶδεν εἰ καί, τοῦτον ἐνέχυρον λαβών  
                              τότε τις παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν παρόντων, ἀπέβαλεν  
                              ἕτερος κυβεύων;

The correct interpretation was given by Croiset (cf. his trans., Capps ad l.):

“κυβεύων (which he rightly takes with what precedes) domine toute la proposition et particulièrement le premier participe λαβών, mais non le verbe principal ἀπέβαλεν.”

- Pk. 17 ff.                φράζει, προνοουμένη τι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων,  
                              εἰ ποτε δεηθείη βοηθείας τινός,  
                              ὁρώσα τοῦτον ὄντ' ἀναγκαῖον μόνον  
                              αὐτῇ φυλακὴν τε λαμβάνουσα, μὴ ποτε  
                              δι' ἐμέ τι τὴν Ἀγνοίαν αὐτοῖς συμπίεση  
                              ἀκούσιον, πλουτοῦντα καὶ μεθύντ' ἀεὶ  
                              ὁρώσ' ἐκείνον, κτλ.

The passage was correctly interpreted by Lefebvre:

“les deux participes προνοουμένη et λαμβάνουσα (φυλακὴν) sont explicatifs de la phrase τὸν ἀγνοούμενον . . . φράζει, et chacun d'eux a sous sa dépendance respective, ὁρώσα, du vers 19 et ὁρώσα du vers 23.”

And G. 65, cf. Dziatzko, RhMus. LIV (1899), 500, ad G. 14.

Sometimes these two forms of *apparent* asyndeton may be combined in a single passage:

- H. 34 f.                    τὰ νόμιμα ποιήσας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε  
                              ἐλθὼν ἀγαγὼν τε τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐπιμένει  
                              τὸ χρέος ἀπεργαζόμενος.

ποιήσας, temporal, is logically subordinate to the two participles that follow, while ἀπεργαζόμενος is a circumstantial participle with ἐπιμένει, a verb of *continuance*.

From this last class of *apparent* asyndeton due to logical subordination, must be distinguished the instances of *real* asyndeton, in which for the sake of rapidity and vividness a series of details are given by participles without the use of conjunctions. The following perhaps are examples of this:

- H. 22                      ποιμὴν γὰρ ἦν Τίβειος οἰκῶν ἐνθαδὶ  
                              Πτελέασι, γεγονώς οἰκέτης νεὸς ὧν ποτε.

E. 80

δεόμενος, ἰκετεύων ἐγὼ  
ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτ'.

E. 271 f.

εἴτ' ἐξαπίνης κλάουσα προστρέχει μόνη,  
τίλλουσ' ἑαυτῆς τὰς τρίχας, καλὸν πάνυ  
καὶ λεπτὸν, ὧ θεοὶ, ταραντῖνον σφόδρα  
ἀπολωλεκυῖ,

The third participle is subordinate to the preceding as the tense shows. And Pk. 3, 7, 9, Kl. 85, S. 24 (cf. Capps).

In this connection mention must be made of one passage in which a participle is very strangely joined to that which precedes.

E. 301

φήσω, "Ταυροπολίοις, παρθένος  
ἔτ' οὔσα," τὰ τ' ἐκείνη γενόμενα πάντ' ἐμὰ  
ποουμένη·

It will be noticed that the conjunction *τε* joins two participles which are not parallel, *οὔσα* modifying the subject of some such verb as *ἔλαβον* which is to be supplied as a part of Habrotonon's hypothetical reply; while *ποουμένη* modifies the subject of *φήσω*. If there were any doubt as to the reading of the manuscript, one might prefer Croiset's emendation

φήσω, "Ταυροπολίοις, παρθένος  
ἔτ' οὔσ', " ἃ τότε ἐκείνη γέγονεν, ἅπαντ' ἐμὰ  
ποουμένη·

which certainly has the advantage of regularity of construction. As a defense for the present reading, it may be urged that in this entire context Habrotonon's self-quoted remarks are very loosely and irregularly interwoven with her other remarks. Furthermore, the concluding participle gives to the sentence almost the tone of an *and-so-forth* construction.

We have seen enough to amply justify the first contention that Menander uses practically every form of *asyndeton* which is recognized by grammarians. We have noted the multiplicity of logical and rhetorical relations that Menander was able to express by the use of this figure. We must not lose ourselves in these details. The use of *asyndeton* was not due to the poverty of the Greek language. Scarcely any language is more richly supplied with particles, conjunctions, and other connectives that serve as the links of discourse and express the relations of cause, effect, sequence, and so on. Neither was Menander driven to the use

of asyndeton by the demands of his verse. On occasion, he, like every verse-maker, must have found the figure convenient; but the frequency of its adoption, especially in long consecutive passages, shows that other and larger motives weighed with him.

The ancient rhetorical writers understood the very definite rhetorical effects of asyndeton. According to the evidence cited by Bromig, "*De asyndeti natura et apud Aeschylum usu*, Münster (1879), 6 ff., they noted especially the following: Asyndeton imparts liveliness and rapidity to narration and description. It indicates the passion and excitement of the speaker. It is adapted to the orator's use, because it may add elevation or dignity to his style, or enable him briefly and emphatically to sum up his argument. All of these will be found illustrated in Menander's comedies. The large proportion of the instances of asyndeton are in the longer narratives and descriptions, where its use gives life to the language and the color of every-day speech. Examples of its use in emotional scenes or in oratorical passages need not be here repeated.

But "Demetrius Phalereus," quoted at the beginning of this chapter, recognized correctly, as the newly discovered fragments show, dramatic vividness as the important reason for Menander's preference for the so-called *disjointed* style. The poet used asyndeton so freely in order that as a playwright he might enliven his verse and make it more appropriate to the dramatic action. We would realize this more clearly if once again we might see the comedies of Menander acted upon the stage.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> So Körte, BSG. LX (1908), 155, in discussing the beginning of the Leipzig fragment.







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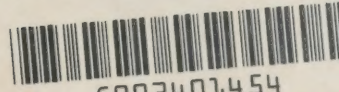
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